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CHRISTIANITY IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

JESUS AND HIS BIBLE

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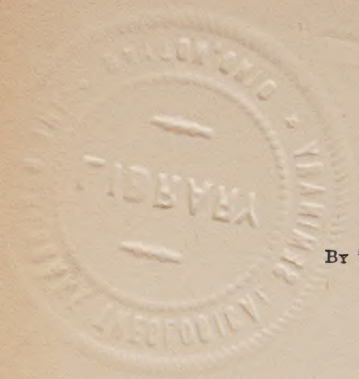

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To all who love the Bible without worshipping it and who see in Jesus at least the finest religious genius of mankind

PREFACE

This book grew out of a series of talks given to a group of Bible students in the summer of 1925. It would also be true to say that it grew out of a lifelong study of the origins of the Christian religion.

The theme "Jesus and His Bible" could hardly have been formulated before the age of historical Bible research, which began about a hundred years ago, but if it had arisen in some mind prior to that time and had been carefully wrought out, the results would have had no welcome in any part of the Church. Yet surely the importance of this theme is bound up with the significance of Jesus in the life of the world. His spiritual background is a part of ours, and the investigation of his relation to this background throws light both on it and on him.

G. H. G.

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CHAPTER I

IN THE LOGIA

Our four documentary sources of the teaching of Jesus will be taken up in their chronological order in our endeavor to discover how he used the Old Testament. This order and the approximate limits of the first of these sources, that is, the little collection of the words of Jesus called Logia and Q, have long been recognized and need not be discussed in this study. We do not know the date of the collection of Logia more definitely than that it was prior to the composition of our Matthew and Luke, probably a considerable time prior, since their copying it implies that it was accepted as authoritative by the Christians among whom these two Gospels arose. Further, whether this collection was made before Mark wrote his Gospel may not be capable of proof, though for various reasons this seems probable; but since it consists almost exclusively of sayings of Jesus, with little color due to the medium of their transmission, we shall consider it before taking up Mark. Next we will examine this oldest of our Gospels, which was the chief source of Matthew and Luke; then the material in Matthew

which is found nowhere else, and finally the material in Luke which is peculiar to this Gospel. The writing by John is not a primary source of the teaching of Jesus, but owing to its age-long association with the early Gospels, and owing also to the intrinsic interest and importance of its estimate of the Old Testament, we shall include it in our study.

No stress is laid on the relative dates of our Matthew and Luke. The important point, as regards our present purpose, is that both were long subsequent to Mark and were composed toward the close of the first century.

We proceed now to a consideration of the Logia or Sayings of Jesus to discover what light this collection throws on his use of the Old Testament.

We note, first, that it contains a number of literary and ethical allusions to Old Testament characters and events. Thus Jesus tells his disciples that they will experience persecution as "the prophets" did (Mt. v. 12; L. vi. 23). He alludes to the glory of Solomon in order to express his sense of the beauty of wild flowers (Mt. vi. 29; L. xii. 27); to Tyre and Sidon, to Sodom and, in Matthew alone, to Gomorrah, in illustration of the wickedness of the present generation (Mt. xi. 21, 22; L. x. 13, 14; Mt. x. 15). He speaks of sitting down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven—a symbol of participating in the happy future age (Mt. viii. 11; L. xiii. 28, 29). The "days of Noah" are mentioned in illustration of the judgment that was seen approaching, if indeed we count the passage where the expression oc-

curs as belonging to the genuine words of Jesus (Mt. xxiv. 37; L. xvii. 20). Luke has an allusion to Lot and Lot's wife (xvii. 28, 32). The "blood of Abel" appears in a rhetorical passage of judgment (Mt. xxiii. 35; L. xi. 51), and the "tombs of the prophets" in a passage of similar purport (Mt. xxiii. 29-31; L. xi. 47, 48). Three times in this ancient collection of words of Jesus an Old Testament phrase appears, or an Old Testament text illustrating a word of the Master (Mt. vii. 23, xxiii. 39, xi. 35; L. xiii. 27, 35; xii. 53). These instances also belong to a literary use of the Scriptures.

But the Logia contains other references by Jesus to his Bible and those that are more significant. Two of these are general in character. The first seems to occur in two forms, a longer and a shorter. The shorter form is the simpler and for that reason more likely to be the original. This reads: "It is easier for the heaven and the earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall" (Mt. v. 18; L. xvi. 17). Taken literally and made to include the *entire* law, this utterance would stand in obvious conflict with more than one well attested word of Jesus, as will appear in the following pages; but when we look at the essential thought of the highly rhetorical statement, and when we remember how Jesus on one occasion summed up the Law and the Prophets in one principle of love—love Godward and love manward—we may regard it as genuine.

The second of the two general utterances of Jesus regarding the Old Testament which are found in the oldest collection of his words is in his criticism of the scribes and Pharisees. "Ye tithe mint and

rue and every herb, and pass by judgment and the love of God" (Mt. xxiii. 23; L. xi. 42). According to this word, Jesus read the Old Testament with a clear recognition of its various levels of truth. Moreover, he inverted the order in which the scribes held the moral and ceremonial elements of the law, and put the ceremonial down below the moral. This was in accord with the ancient Prophets (e.g. Is. i.12).

We come now to a group of sayings in the Logia which throw light on Jesus' thought of himself, by way of the Old Testament. There is, first, the answer which he sent to John the Baptist, who, from his prison, had dispatched two of his followers to Jesus with the direct question, "Art thou the one who was to come?" (Mt. xi. 2-6; L. vii. 18-23). To this question the reply was not "Yes," neither was it "No." It was an answer that called for reflection and which was fitted to turn John's thought to certain prophetic pictures of the better time that was coming. It was this: "The blind see and the lame walk, the deaf hear and the poor have good tidings preached to them" (Is. xxix. 18, 19, xxxv. 5, 6, lxi. 1). All these happy events were thought by various prophets to mark the Messiah's day. Such was the answer sent to the prison. The Baptist, like anyone else, must draw his own conclusion. It is plain from the final word of Jesus to the messengers that he did not regard his answer as fitted to compel belief in any mind. "Blessed is he who shall find no occasion of stumbling in me," he said. "Occasions" there certainly were, and most men did "stumble," that is, were not persuaded by

the evidence at hand that Jesus was the expected Messiah.

What we are here especially concerned to note is that Jesus, even to his own forerunner who was longing for the fulfilment of Israel's hope, gave no categorical reply to the question as to his office, but merely called attention to a certain agreement between what he was doing and what the prophets had said would one day come to pass. It was an answer that threw the questioner back on his own inner resources; it was a challenge to faith. This remains true even if the words "the lepers are cleansed and the dead are raised," which do not belong in the prophetic picture, are regarded as genuine.

After John's messengers had departed Jesus bore witness both to his greatness and his limitations (Mt. xi. 7-11; L. vii. 24-28). John was a prophet, he said, and "more than a prophet." Then occurs the single quotation of Scripture by Jesus that is found in the Logia. It concerns the Baptist: "This is he of whom it is written: Behold, I send my messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way before thee" (Mal. iii. 1). This quotation evidently fits the context. It justifies the preceding word that John was "more than a prophet." Primarily at least it is introduced to exalt the greatness of the forerunner, which continues to be the theme of the next verse.

But the limitations of John appear to have been touched by Jesus on this same occasion.[1] His work

[1] Luke's location of the word in question here must yield to that of Matthew, for in Luke it is a floating fragment, having no connection with the context (xvi:14).

belonged with the Law and the Prophets; it was the last chapter, as it were, of their regime (Mt. xi. 12, 13; L. xvi. 16). From his day onward the Kingdom of Heaven "suffereth violence"; a new order is begun.

It is this "new order" over against that of the Law and the Prophets which helps us understand the word of Jesus concerning John: "He that is but little in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he."

In all this that has been said about John as the preparer of "the way of the Lord" and as marking the end of the epoch of Law and Prophets there is surely something implied regarding the speaker's thought of himself. For it is *his* way that John has been preparing; it is *he* who is consciously initiating the new order. This thought is clearly implied as we now read the words, but it does not appear to have impressed the original hearers.

That Jesus meant only to suggest somewhat darkly what was involved in his words regarding the Baptist is further apparent if we take Mt. xi. 14, 15 as spoken on this occasion. Here, speaking to his disciples, Jesus identifies John with the "Elijah" of Mal. iv. 5, but does it in a tentative manner, saying, "this is Elijah, if ye are willing to receive it." Then he adds those words which always call attention to some latent truth: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Plainly, Jesus realized that his hearers did *not* see what he saw or feel what he felt. Yet he had faith to sow seed for some day of clearer vision, some day when they would at last realize that Malachi's word had an

essential though not formal fulfilment in the work of John and in his own work.

Yet more significant are the words of Jesus in reply to the request of scribes and Pharisees that he would give them a "sign." He said in substance that a "sign"—and indeed the only one he was to give—had already been given. What he meant by this "sign" appears in the comparison of his ministry with that of Jonah (Mt. xii. 38, 39, 41; L. xi. 29, 30, 32). Jonah's appearance to the Ninevites was a "sign," an evidence of the favor of Jehovah toward them. So, in like manner, the appearance and ministry of Jesus had been a "sign" to his generation. This latter sign was of the same kind as the former, but greater and clearer, for, said Jesus, "Something more than Jonah is here."

A second Old Testament illustration of the same general purport was given. Solomon was a "sign" to the Queen of the South who came to hear his wisdom. So, in like manner, the teaching of Jesus had been a "sign" to that generation, a proof that the Kingdom of God had come nigh to them. The latter sign was of the same kind as the former, but greater and clearer, for, said Jesus again, "Something more than Solomon is here" (Mt. xii. 42; L. xi. 31). This "something more" makes the case of those to whom Jesus was speaking more seriously reprehensible than that of the Ninevites or the Queen of the South.

The word of Mt. xii. 6, spoken to the critics of Jesus, as were those just considered, though not found in Luke, may belong to the same group. If it be so regarded, then the activity of the priests in

the temple on the Sabbath may have been understood by Jesus as a "sign" of how God would have the Sabbath statute interpreted. So, in like manner, the way in which he himself worked on the Sabbath was a "sign" of God's meaning. It was of the same kind as the former sign, but greater and clearer, for, said Jesus, "Something more than the temple is here."

It is of slight importance as regards Jesus' use of the Old Testament whether we accept this word of Mt. xii.6 as coming from the Logia or not. The meaning of the first two sayings remains unchanged. This meaning now demands further consideration. We note, in the first place, the suggestive avoidance of a direct personal claim by Jesus. "Something more than Jonah," "Something more than Solomon," was right there among the men to whom Jesus was speaking. But he leaves his hearers to say what that "something" was. As John the Baptist was left to draw his own inference from the works of Jesus and to answer his own question as to whether Jesus was "the coming one," so the scribes and Pharisees are here left to determine for themselves what was meant by Jesus when he said that "something more than Jonah" was then at hand. What their inference actually was we do not know. What inference we ourselves should draw, it is not at once easy to say. Did Jesus mean primarily the *message* that God had given him to declare? Was this "the something more than Jonah"? Or did he mean primarily the results of that message which were already beginning to be visible to his eyes? Again, did he mean something

more immediately personal, a consciousness of being himself the fulfiller of the Messianic hope of Israel? Or, finally, did he mean something in which several or all these elements were blended?

However we answer this question, it is an obvious and significant fact that when men were seeking to investigate Jesus and his work, whether in a hostile or a friendly spirit, he avoided direct personal claims. But again, we note, as obvious and significant, that his appearance and ministry involved, in his thought, something of greater or clearer import for his hearers than Jonah's message had for the Ninevites or than Solomon's words had for the Queen of the South. If reticence regarding Messianic claims is conspicuous in these utterances, so also is the implication of great personal significance for his generation.

The oldest source of the teaching of Jesus contains another saying which is somewhat closely related to those we have just considered. This was addressed to his disciples, probably on the notable occasion when they showed an unusual desire to learn of him (Mt. xiii. 16, 17; L. x. 23, 24). Luke places it after the return of the seventy disciples and suggests that it was occasioned by their works. This seems less in keeping with the spirituality of the method of Jesus than the location in Matthew. But whatever the occasion may have been, the words are highly significant: "Many prophets and righteous men desired to see what you are seeing and saw it not, and to hear what you are hearing and heard it not" (Mt. xiii. 16, 17; L. x. 23, 24). This is undoubtedly an allusion to characters and scenes of

the Old Testament. Nor can it well be doubted that Jesus had in mind that element of the Old Testament which is called "Messianic," those prophetic pictures of a Golden Age to come when men should be taught of God and when God's blessing should richly meet all human need. Jesus could hardly have spoken these words had he not felt confident in himself that the great hope of Israel was indeed beginning to be accomplished in him. Yet he makes no direct personal claim. His word is like that which he sent to the Baptist. It is a significant reference to what could be seen and heard *if* men gave heed to him. He himself is indeed central in these "things" to which he refers, yet he does not speak of himself. Here doubtless, as in the message to John, there is a call to faith. The disciples themselves do not yet recognize him as the bringer of Israel's happy age. The "blessing" which he pronounces is the blessing of a great opportunity for them, not of a great realization by them. They may come to see and feel the full implication of his words, but on the other hand they may "stumble," as one of them did.

We have now completed our survey of what the oldest collection of Jesus' words has to teach directly on the subject of his estimate and use of the Old Testament. The full significance of this teaching can be understood only after the other sources of information have been studied in detail. Yet we will briefly gather together the main results of our investigation. We find that in this primitive collection of the words of Jesus, though it re-

flects a lofty conception of the Hebrew Scriptures, there is no appeal by him to Old Testament teaching in support of his message regarding God and the Kingdom of Heaven. We find also the fact that the allusions and references by Jesus to an element in the Old Testament personal to himself, while expressive of a settled conclusion of his own mind, are few in number, that they are darkly suggestive rather than open, and in every case avoid a direct personal claim.

We should not leave the Logia without a brief word about another feature of Jesus' teaching which has an indirect bearing on his relation to the Old Testament. This is his appeal to reason and to the religious nature of man. This is more conspicuous in the oldest Gospel, but is also well attested in the Logia. Consider for a moment how this appeal pervades many of Jesus' most familiar words: [2]

"Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt has lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?"

"Ye are the light of the world. . . . Men do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel."

"Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art with him in the way, lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge . . . and thou be cast into prison."

"If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the tax-gatherers the same?"

"Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where

[2] The text is usually cited either according to the Revised Version or according to Goodspeed's translation.

thieves do not break through nor steal; for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also."

"If God doth so clothe the grass of the field . . . shall he not much more clothe you?"

"If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?"

These are typical utterances from the Logia. Their appeal is directly to the human mind and heart. They show that Jesus saw an authoritative "Scripture" in the world about him and in the human soul as well as in the Law and the Prophets. To this unwritten, this vital authority, he appealed habitually.[3]

[3] Note: While the story of the Temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness seems to have stood in the Logia (Mt. iv:1-11; L. iv. 1-13), it is impossible to determine what historical basis it may have had, and therefore the quotations of Scripture in it have not been included in this chapter.

CHAPTER II

IN THE OLDEST GOSPEL

The collection of the sayings of Jesus which furnished the material of the last chapter has no existence as a separate writing; it is embedded in our first and third Gospels. From this we pass now to our oldest existing document concerning the life and work of Jesus, the Gospel of Mark. The importance of this writing is second only to that of the Logia as regards the words of Jesus. Its record of his teaching shows less influence from the thought of later times than does that of either one of the subsequent Gospels. This is recognized as an obvious and unquestionable fact when the records are studied in comparison with each other.

Mark is not only the oldest of our Gospels, but it is also one of the major sources of Matthew and Luke. It contains the most complete and, in fact, the only independent sketch of the public career of Jesus. This sketch is closely followed by Matthew and Luke. In view of the priority and independence of Mark a peculiar interest attaches to his record of *any* saying of Jesus, and hence to his record of those sayings which bear on our present subject.

What, then, do we find in this oldest Gospel in regard to the use which Jesus made of the Old

Testament? It is noteworthy, in the first place, that Mark has no reflections of his own on the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament. He cites words of Jesus on the subject but always without comment. Of his own motion he introduces but one passage from the Old Testament, and that relates to John the Baptist. The significance of this fact becomes strikingly apparent when we open the Gospel according to Matthew where there are numerous instances of the writer's interest in the establishment of a "fulfilment" of Scripture in the life and teaching of Jesus. It is apparent also when we consider the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the habitual practice of the Christian writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries. The fact that Mark shows no special theological interest in the relation of Jesus to the prophetic element in the Old Testament increases our confidence in the historical quality of the evidence concerning that relation which his narrative contains.

There are eleven occasions in Mark's narrative on which Jesus cited Scripture or, as in one instance, made a clear allusion to a specific passage. These occasions and the Old Testament texts involved may be conveniently divided into four groups.

First, on two occasions Jesus appealed to Scripture in self-defense.

Early in the Galilean ministry he was passing through a field of grain on the Sabbath, and his disciples, as they went along, took grain and ate (ii.25). Because he allowed this act of his disciples he was called to account by the Pharisees, who said it was not "lawful." Jesus in reply to

this charge called the attention of his critics to a story in First Samuel (xxi. 1-7) which relates that David, on a certain occasion when he was hungry, went into the tabernacle, took the holy bread, ate of it, and gave some to the men who were with him. According to a statute of the law (Lev. xxiv.9), this bread might be eaten by the priests only, but David and his followers were not priests. Thus a clear violation of the letter of the law is recorded in Scripture, and recorded without a word of rebuke or criticism. It is obvious that in the thought of Jesus this story of David was a Scripture confirmation of the principle that human need may overrule legal statutes. In the case of David, the statute that was overruled was the statute that prohibited the use of certain food to all save the priests, and in the case of the disciples it was the statute that prohibited work on the Sabbath. They had been guilty, in the eyes of the Pharisees, of a violation of that statute, for they had rubbed the heads of grain in their hands to separate the kernel from the chaff, and as this was virtually a part of the process of harvesting we can see how sticklers for the rigid observance of the statute might call it "work."

Jesus did not close his defense of the act of his disciples with this appeal to Scripture, unanswerable though it was, but this is all we have to consider at present. What he said further in their defense will be taken up in another connection.

The second occasion on which Jesus appealed to Scripture in self-defense was when he drove the traffickers out of the temple (xi.15-17). Here the appeal was not to any statutory legislation but

to words of the Prophets. "My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of robbers." These words are a blending of Is. lvi.7 and Jer. vii.11. One passage speaks of the lofty purpose of the temple, the other of a base perversion of that purpose. If that perversion justified Jeremiah's condemnation, then a similar perversion justified the act of Jesus.

We cannot suppose that the reaction of the pure spirit of Jesus to the desecration of God's house would have been different had the prophets not spoken the words that he cites, but this citation helps to render his act intelligible and justifiable. It would also tend to arouse the consciences of men who had a true regard for their sacred Scriptures. The quotation does not fall under the traditional "proof-text" method of handling the Bible. Jeremiah says: "Is this house which is called by my name become a den of robbers in your eyes?" That is the language of an impassioned ironical judgment on the men of his day who were corrupting the worship of Jehovah. But the condition that confronted Jesus was parallel to that in Jeremiah's day, and hence the fitness of the ancient and familiar words. The citation is forcible both historically and ethically.

The second group of occasions on which Jesus made direct use of the Old Testament in his teaching consists of those where he turned to it in answering questions. There are four of these occasions, all in the latter part of the ministry when the tension of hostility toward Jesus was rapidly increasing.

On his journey to Jerusalem, probably while he was in Perea, east of the Jordan, the Pharisees sought to entangle him in the current controversy about divorce (x.2-9). Is it lawful, they asked, for a man to put away his wife? The professional interpreters of the law were divided on the question, some holding a strict view, others a lax one. Jesus was doubtless acquainted with this fact and knew also on what grounds each view was defended. He countered their question with another in order, we may suppose, to bring out the exact position of his questioners. What, he asked, did Moses command you? They replied with a reference to Dt. xxiv.1-3, which sanctions divorce. This, then, was their standard. Jesus, declaring that this standard was a concession to sin, set it aside in favor of an older and better one that he found in Gen. i.27, ii.24. This better standard was in his thought one of indissoluble unity—indissoluble, that is, in the purpose of God. So Jesus concluded his reply with an injunction against nullifying God's manifest purpose.

We are here concerned simply with the use which Jesus made of the Old Testament in answering the question of the Pharisees and not with the entire textual material concerning divorce.

Two points in Jesus' use of his Bible are here obvious and significant. First, he saw in the Old Testament two conflicting views on the subject under discussion. Presumably he thought that his questioners, who prided themselves on their knowledge of holy writ, ought to be acquainted with this fact and to discriminate between these views, choos-

ing the higher and worthier, as he had done. They are both there on the sacred page and are both intelligible. One is to be accepted, the other rejected. His questioners, the Pharisees, ought to see and feel that the statute in Deuteronomy was merely a concession to sin, hence defective as a standard, a wretched makeshift, and to be set aside. Thus Jesus clearly recognized that, in reading the Scriptures, he and his hearers and all who read them were to use their reason and moral sense. The Bible accordingly was not for him a dead level of perfection, every word of which must be accepted and harmonized with every other word.

The second point to be noticed in Jesus' use of the Old Testament on this occasion is that his ideal of marriage was a rational inference from the fact that God in creating the race created it with a distinction of sex. Of couse, Jesus might have appealed to this fact of creation without reference to Scripture, but for his hearers at least, and perhaps for himself also, the appeal to it as contained in his Bible was the more forcible one to make.

It is to be observed that the words of Jesus as quoted in our oldest Gospel make the unity of the marriage relation a simple consequence of the fact of sex-differentiation by creation. He passes over the ground for unity which is brought forward in Gen. ii. 23, viz. the story that Eve was fashioned out of a rib of Adam, so that she was literally "bone of his bone." It is suggestive that the statement of Jesus ignores this mythical relation of the first woman to the first man, and takes cognizance only of the indisputable fact of sex-differentiation.

The inference that God by creating mankind "male and female" taught thereby, as in a parable, that the marriage union of a man and a woman was to be indissoluble, is profoundly idealistic, even if not to all minds an obvious and authoritative deduction.

The next question of the group we are considering is widely different from the last. It concerns eternal life and was put not by a hostile Pharisee, but by an earnest seeker whom, as Jesus came to know him, he "loved" (x. 17-22). This incident, like the last, occurred on the fatal journey to Jerusalem. It is set before us in a dramatic form. Just as Jesus was coming out of a house to resume his journey, a man came running up to him, and knelt before him and asked—what no other before this or after is said to have asked—what he should do to inherit eternal life. Jesus replies, as though the man's question were very simple, with a reference to the "Commandments," and proceeds to mention several, perhaps those which he thought most important for the man before him. According to Mark's text he cited six, one from the First Table of the Decalogue ("honor thy father and thy mother"), four from the Second Table (the prohibitions against adultery, murder, stealing and false witness), and one from Dt. xxiv.14. These commandments are all ethical, and all but one negative in character. It appears later in the conversation that these commandments did not constitute a perfect standard in the judgment of Jesus, for he added something important to them; but this we must say, that he regarded the keeping of them as

a means of "inheriting eternal life." The issue of the incident shows that the commandments might be outwardly observed without renunciation of self, without devotion to the cause of a suffering world; and hence the significance of the word of Jesus to the man who had kept the commandments: "Go, sell all thou hast and give to the poor; and come, follow me." [1]

The remaining instances of the group under consideration belong in the last days of the life of Jesus. The first of these is that of certain Sadducees who came to him with a question of pure casuistry (x.18-27). They began by citing the Levirate law of Dt. xxv. 5, 6, which, in order that a man's name might not be blotted out in Israel when he died without heir, directed that the brother of the deceased man should take his widow as wife. If a son was born to them, he would take the name of the deceased. Then the Sadducees imagined a case in which seven brothers in succession were the husbands of one wife—a goodly number that their forthcoming question might furnish the more unanswerable support for their denial of the doctrine of resurrection. The question was, which of the seven brothers would have the woman in the resurrection? Since each had been her legal husband, then in the resurrection—if there were such a thing as a resurrection, which they denied—she would have seven husbands, a condition plainly contrary to the law. Therefore, the law itself plainly supported them in their rejection of the doctrine of resur-

[1] Mt. adds to Mk. a part of Lev. xix:18, but with doubtful authority.

rection. Their seemingly invincible logic made the doctrine appear both unscriptural and absurd.

Such was the highly interesting question which the Sadducees put to Jesus—interesting because of its Old Testament background, the eminence of those who brought it, and their denial of immortality.

The answer of Jesus throws fresh light on his estimate of the Old Testament. His questioners accepted only the five books of Moses as authoritative, and his reply does not go beyond these. He charges them with ignorance of the Scriptures and also of the power of God. The first charge he supports with a passage from Exodus and the second with his own assertion. They had assumed that, if there were a resurrection, the future life must be like the present. Jesus meets that assumption with the statement that it plainly limits the power of God, and also with the assertion—for which he cites no Scripture or other proof—that the future state is unlike the present. Their assumption, which is vital to their argument, is obviously unprovable, whether we regard that of Jesus so or not. But as we are concerned only with his use of the Old Testament we pass on at once to his scriptural rebuttal of the Sadducees' position on the doctrine of resurrection. He asks, as though surprised, whether they had not read what God said to Moses in the "bush" passage (Ex. iii.6). It is as though he thought these words a plain refutation of their view. Not to have seen the meaning of these words was a clear evidence of "ignorance" of the Scriptures, the charge brought against his questioners at the begin-

ning of his reply. What was it that God had said to Moses? "I am [2] the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." But if the God who speaks was at that hour the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who had long since departed out of the earthly life, then obviously they were living. Death was not the end of their careers and of their relation to God.

It seems plain that in the thought of Jesus these words of Ex. iii. 6 contain the truth which the Sadducees denied. We of course have no right to think that this was the only text, even in the Pentateuch, which he could have used against the Sadducees; still less have we a right to suppose that his own belief in immortality rested on this text alone or even on any number of Bible texts. All that we note here is that he cited this passage as fatal to the doctrine of the Sadducees. He then went on and added a weighty statement concerning God: "He is not the God of the dead but of the living." This thought is uttered as a self-evident truth, and apparently as a truth that enforces the meaning of the quotation from Exodus. To put the apparent thought of the statement in other words: it is unthinkable that God should be God of non-existent beings. To be the God of any one implies a supreme social relationship, which evidently requires living men as well as a living God.

This utterance of Jesus, though standing in close connection with the text from Exodus, is somewhat more than that. It seems to make his reply

[2] The copula "am," regularly unexpressed in Hebrew, is expressed here in the Greek version of the Seventy.

to the Sadducees twofold. He might have stopped with the quotation from Exodus, and again he might have met their denial of immortality with the assertion of the self-evident truth that God—they also believed in God—is God of living ones; that the very relationship of being God to anyone implies everlastingness. This word of Jesus may be regarded as a natural inference from his exalted conception of God and man. It is more probably to be accounted for in that way than as having sprung originally out of the Exodus text.

The next question, in the reply to which Jesus made some use of Scripture, was that of a scribe who, according to the oldest Gospel, came in a friendly and truth-seeking frame of mind. It was the well known query often discussed among the scribes, as to the first or greatest of all commandments (xii.29-31). The reply of Jesus combined Dt. vi.5 and Lev. xix.18, thus suggesting that, although supreme love of God is to be placed first among human duties and is to be regarded as the greatest commandment, it is inseparably connected with another, that is, the love of our neighbor, and that although we designate them as first and second they can never be realized in isolation from each other. The scribe had asked only for the first and greatest of all commandments. Jesus told him what is first and also what is next to it. Both are positive, both ethico-religious.

We may remind ourselves here that Jesus took the word "neighbor" in Lev. xix.18 in a liberal sense. Doubtless, when it was spoken, the "neighbor" contemplated was an Israelite. International

relations were not in the writer's thought. But the liberal interpretation of the command which Jesus held, as in the parable of the Merciful Samaritan (Lk. x.29-37), had been variously commended by others in Israel's history. We note in conclusion on this incident the difficult word which Jesus is said to have spoken to the scribe after he had answered his question. The man had welcomed the answer with words which seemed to indicate that his own conclusion had been like that of Jesus. "Of a truth, Teacher, thou hast well said that he is one . . . and to love him with all the heart and with all the understanding and with all the strength and to love his neighbor as himself is much more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices." This called forth the somewhat obscure word of Jesus, "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God." Was not the scribe *in* the Kingdom of God if he heartily accepted the principle of love toward God and man and made it the standard of his life? Surely we must say that such a life is acceptable to the God of Jesus, and if we mean by being in his "Kingdom" nothing more than this, then he was already a member of the Kingdom of God. We have to conclude, then, that Jesus meant by membership in God's Kingdom something different from this, or at least something more. That such was indeed the case two incidents already considered seem to indicate. To the ardently religious man who had kept the commandments Jesus said "Follow me." As an earnest observer of God's law he would necessarily be accounted a member of God's Kingdom, and yet Jesus summoned him

to a somewhat different life. Again, when he was speaking of John the Baptist, whom he called "more than a prophet," he declared that he was less than the least in the Kingdom of Heaven.

We will say, then, that Jesus did not suggest that the Old Testament ideal of supreme love of God and true love of one's neighbor is a defective ideal of life, as far as it goes, but rather that his words on these three occasions suggest a new divine order, a new method of *realizing* the ideal. If we describe this new divine order as the "Kingdom of God," then surely this old term receives large enrichment through the example and word of Jesus.

We come now to the last of the group of passages which we have been considering, passages in which the answers of Jesus to definite questions illuminate his estimate of the Old Testament.

It is the last day of his life, and he is standing before the Sanhedrin. Witnesses had appeared against him, but their testimony had not been accepted as furnishing any valid ground for condemnation. At this juncture the highpriest asked him the question, "Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed?" (xiv.61). To this Jesus replied "I am," and followed the affirmation with words from two passages of the Scriptures (Ps. cx.1; Dan. vii.13): "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of Heaven." These are merely allusions to well known passages rather than quotations. The Psalmist says: "Jehovah saith unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand." The Jews regarded this Psalm as referring to the Messiah. He is the "my

Lord" to whom Jehovah speaks. Then in a Messianic passage in the Book of Daniel we read: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a Son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days." These are the Scripture passages of which the words of Jesus before the high priest contain echoes. Both are highly poetical. Jesus borrowed from them in describing something that his hearers were to see in the future, something that would establish his right to answer the question of the high priest as he had done. Just what that "something" was to be cannot be determined from this symbolic language. To see him sitting "at the right hand of power" and "coming on the clouds" would seem to mean at least the triumph of his cause. The language pictures a stupendous contrast to the present moment and his present abject situation. It expresses the confidence of Jesus in the outcome of his mission. That his confidence expressed itself in these Old Testament terms may fairly be said to imply that he in common with his people regarded the passages as Messianic, though we should remember here as always how different his conception of the Messiah was from that of the Jewish people of his own or of any preceding age. It does not follow from his use of these words of Daniel and the Psalmist that his own assurance of Messiahship rested upon them wholly or indeed in any degree. They simply express in a most striking and powerful manner the confidence that filled his soul in the hour of his rejection and utmost humiliation. We ought not to seek any literal interpretation of them.

In so doing many writers have greatly obscured, or even lost, the Master's thought.

We pass now to a third group of occasions on which, according to our oldest Gospel, Jesus made a direct use of the Scriptures. This group like the two preceding ones represent Jesus as turning to the Old Testament, not as though it contained a part of his own high message from God, but rather turning to it in consequence of external causes. As the first group of passages were in self-defense and the second group in answer to questions, so this present one may be conveniently described as passages called out by special exigencies of his work.

The first occasion of this group takes us back to the early part of the Galilean ministry. When Jesus in compassion had touched a leper, saying to him at the same moment, "I will; be cleansed," he directed him to do two things: to keep still regarding the matter, and to offer for his cleansing "the things which Moses commanded" (i.44). This is not a formal quotation of Scripture, but is a plain reference to the statute of Lev. xiv.1-9. The injunction implies, of course, that Jesus recognized the validity of this ceremonial law. An evidence of the importance it had in his thought at this time may be seen in the dramatic circumstance recorded by Mark that he thrust the man out—either out of the present circle or perhaps out of a house—with a certain indignation, for his entrance into it had been a clear violation of the statute requiring lepers to keep at a distance from their fellow men.

To judge from this incident—on which, however, taken by itself, we must not lay too much

weight—the ceremonial law, as well as the moral law, was a part of the structure which Jesus said he came not to "destroy." Yet its relative unimportance in his thought is a point on which both his words and his actions left no doubt.

The next occurrence of this group is the controversy about the ceremonial washing of the hands. It had been noticed by the watchful scribes that some of the disciples of Jesus neglected this observance, and they accordingly challenged him in regard to the matter (vii.1-23). The reply of Jesus was a sharp condemnation of the traditionalism of the scribes. He applied to them some words of Isaiah which he said described their case "admirably" (Is. xxix.13):

> This people honoreth me with their lips,
> But their heart is far from me.
> But in vain do they worship me,
> Teaching as their doctrines the precepts of men.

Their traditions, like the ceremonial washing of the hands before touching food, were contrary, said Jesus, to the commandment of God. Men had to leave the latter in order to observe the former. Then he gave a concrete illustration of the manner in which the tradition of the scribes nullified the commandment of God. There is a divine command to honor father and mother (Ex. xx.12), but a tradition of the elders allows any child to dishonor them in the following simple manner. He has only to pronounce the word "korban" over the money or other substance which he ought to use for his parents, and he is free from the divine command. To declare it a "gift" (korban) to the

temple justifies him in letting his parents starve for the lack of it. Such instances of the perversion of the commandments of God must have been somewhat common else Jesus would not have used them in his indictment of the scribes.[3]

The reply of Jesus up to this point throws light on his attitude toward the traditionalism of the scribes rather than on his own views of the Old Testament. But the words that followed, both those to the crowd and those later to his own disciples in the house, touching his estimate of the ceremonial law, are highly significant. For he declared to the crowd, frankly and positively, that nothing that enters into a man from without can defile him. Here he plainly has in mind the charge which had been brought against his disciples, that they ate with "common," that is, defiled, hands, and therefore became defiled themselves, for the food they ate had contracted defilement from their hands. This statement puzzled his disciples. It seemed to them a "parable," and as such needed explanation, which, when they had gone into the house and were by themselves, they asked Jesus to give them. He at first reproached them for their lack of understanding, and then sought to make his thought more clear. Nothing, he said, that enters into a man from without, no kind of food or drink, can "defile" him, because it does not enter his "heart." He is "defiled" only by what comes forth from his heart. It seems obvious that Jesus had in mind here the law regarding clean and unclean meat, an important item in the Levitical ritual (e.g.

[3] For other strictures on Traditionalism see Mt. xxiii.4, 13 and Lk. xi.46,52.

Lev. xi). The thought goes deeper than traditionalism, that elaborate and painful network of regulations for the devout life which was supposed to be a legitimate application of Old Testament teaching; it went below this to the Old Testament itself. We cannot avoid the conclusion that Jesus here antagonized the ceremonialism of the law, that he regarded it as superficial and hollow, and that he set it aside, at least for his disciples, as he set aside the statute of Deuteronomy that allows divorce, declaring that it was a concession to sin and in conflict with the divine ideal. But while this conclusion seems justified it may well be only tentatively held until all that Jesus said about the Old Testament has been examined.

On the day following the cleansing of the temple, after Jesus had been formally challenged by the highest religious authorities to produce his credentials, he spoke the parable of the Wicked Vinedressers, at the close of which he made a significant quotation of Scripture (xii.1-12). Have ye never read, he asked, this passage:

> The stone which the builders rejected,
> The same was made the head of the corner;
> This was from the Lord
> And it is marvelous in our eyes (Ps. cxviii.22, 23).

As this quotation immediately follows the parable we conclude that Jesus regarded it as in line with the parable's teaching. He left it wholly unexplained, even as he left the parable itself unexplained. His hearers must find out his thought for themselves.

Now the "builders" of the Psalm are regarded as

certain peoples who, in the crisis which is reflected in the Psalm, "rejected" Israel instead of coöperating with it and using it as a "stone" in some international structure, some alliance of peoples for the common good. In like manner the Vinedressers of the parable "rejected" the son of the owner of the vineyard. This is one thought of the quotation. The other thought of the quotation is that the "rejected" stone had a glorious future. It was made the very "corner stone" of the structure, the stone of special honor. To what event in Israel's history the Psalmist was referring in this figure of the "corner stone," if indeed he had any historical event in mind, we need not inquire; the important thought is the great contrast between two conditions of Israel, one of humiliation, the other of honor.

Now the parable of the Vinedressers is analogous to the thought of the first line of the quotation, but Jesus left to the imagination of his hearers to infer what his meaning was in the second line. Doubtless Mark is right in saying that they knew the parable was spoken against them, and we may well believe that they perceived the personal implication of the second line of the verse quoted at the end of the parable. Plain and significant to us at least is the twofold thought of this citation by Jesus. He too, like the Israel of the Psalmist, is "rejected," but he too has a future in which he will receive honor.

The parable closed with the thought of a judgment on the men who had killed the son of the owner of the vineyard. Nothing is said or neces-

sarily implied in regard to the future of the slain son. At this point the quotation goes beyond the parable and we may say supplements it. This was doubtless intended. The quotation, read in close connection with the parable, as it should be, implies that the slain son, or he whose fortunes this "son" darkly images forth, comes afterward to honor.

The personal application of the Psalmist's words is clear. Jesus knew that he was rejected, nevertheless he was confident of the future of his cause. That is what shines out of the ancient oracle as he takes it on his lips and utters it to the men who in their hearts have already condemned him to death. This confidence is expressed in figurative language, but the meaning is, for us of course, unmistakable. How far the men on the ground heard in it a lofty personal claim we cannot say.[4]

The two remaining passages to be considered may be regarded as forming a fourth group. The distinctive feature of this is a voluntary, personal application of Scripture by Jesus to himself.

On what was probably the last day of the public ministry of Jesus, after the authorities had put all their crafty questions, he turned on them with a question, biblical in character, to which they do not appear to have made any reply. This was the question: "How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David? David himself said in the Holy Spirit, Jehovah saith unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

[4] Mk. iv.12 attributes to Jesus a clear though not formal use of Is. vi.9-10. It seems to give the purpose of speaking in parables. The fact that the tone of the verse appears to be at variance with the spirit of Jesus and with his conception of God suggests some error in the transmission of the saying.

David himself calls him lord, and whence is he his son?" (xii.35-37). The form of the question suggests disagreement with the teaching of the scribes. "How" say they that Christ is David's son? The words that follow the quotation also seem to suggest that Jesus did not agree with the scribes. Yet the purpose of Jesus in asking the question is not clear. Did he wish simply to embarrass the scribes before the people by asking a question which he thought they could not or would not answer? That supposition does not seem to be in keeping with the dignity and frankness of the Master. His enemies had tried to embarrass him, but it is not his way to retaliate. What then was his purpose? We seem to be shut up to one of two views. Either he wished to controvert a point in the teaching of the scribes concerning the Messiah, viz. that he was to be a descendant of David, which was not in the teaching of the scribes *only* but was also to be found in the Old Testament; or, if not that, his purpose would seem to have been to suggest the super-Davidic honor of the Messiah. If that was his purpose in the question, which seems to me probable, then the passage falls into line with the preceding citation regarding the "corner stone," and we should regard it as an indirect expression of his self-consciousness. Its very indirectness favors this view, for it is an indisputable fact of history that Jesus studiously avoided any direct and public verbal claim to Messiahship until the last day of his life, as he also refused those "signs" that men sought from him, if he wished to be accepted in the rôle of Israel's King.

Jesus attributed the Psalm to David as he attributed the Law to Moses, in these points sharing the common view of his people. The day of scientific historical research had not come. We can no more look to him for critical interpretation of Old Testament texts than we can look to the Bible for any sort of technical scientific knowledge.

According to Mark the statement of David was made "in the holy Spirit," for which Luke substitutes the phrase "in the book of Psalms." Assuming that Jesus did characterize the statement of David as made "in the holy Spirit," these words should be understood as confirming the truth of what is said rather than as suggesting a theory of inspiration. They are rhetorical, not technical.

The last of the quotations of Scripture ascribed to Jesus in the oldest Gospel belongs in the last evening of his life. While on his way from the "upper room" to the Mount of Olives he said to his disciples, "All of you shall be caused to stumble, for it is written, 'I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered' " (Zech. xiii.7; Mk. xiv.27). The Hebrew original is somewhat more dramatic. There Jehovah addresses the "sword," saying, "Smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered." But the use of the passage in Mark is faithful to the thought of the original, if not to its literary form. This quotation shows again how the fitting word of Scripture came to Jesus when needed, as would be the case only with one who had mastered it spiritually. More significant still is the light that it throws on the mood of Jesus in this dark hour, and on the delicacy of his thought

for his disciples. It is plain from the quotation that Jesus felt the *inevitableness* of his fate: it was in the plan of Jehovah. It is he who smites the shepherd or directs the sword to smite. But the word is for the disciples too. They will be scattered from their loving friend, thus denying him in deed as one of them did in word, but they will recall this saying of their Master and it will help them to bear the shame of their denial of him, for it suggests that their fate, too, is somehow wrought into the divine plan with that of Jesus.[5]

But the direct quotations of Scripture by Jesus are not the only material in the oldest Gospel that throws light on his estimate and use of the Old Testament. There is other material of equal importance, and it is that which we are now to consider.

At Caesarea Philippi, when it had become apparent to Jesus that his chosen disciples were able to bear the shocking announcement, he began to teach them that he "must" suffer many things and be put to death (viii. 31). Whence came this feeling of "must"? What was the basis of this heavy conviction of his soul? Was it the growing hostility of the religious authorities, which Jesus must have seen and the inmost meaning of which can hardly have been hidden from his clear gaze? Or was it something he had read in his Bible in regard to the treatment of the prophets or their thoughts concerning the experiences of the coming Messiah? Probably the basis of Jesus' conviction was neither

[5] The genuineness of Mk. xv.34 is much in doubt, and we shall not discuss it, since, even if genuine, it is not important for the subject in hand.

one of these exclusively, but rather both working together. To his own prophetic consciousness the experience of the old prophets would naturally have made a unique appeal and would have been burdened with a very special personal significance; and to his Messianic consciousness, which must have been clear and established as early as the great day at Caesarea Philippi, if not indeed earlier than that, those passages of the Old Testament which appear to associate unique sufferings with the unique deliverer of Israel must have been deeply interesting. Then what he faced daily in his ministry, the inescapable conflict with the foes of a spiritual Gospel, must, we believe, have thrown a lurid and increasing light on the personal significance of these ancient prophetic utterances. Thus may we best account for that conviction which found its first clear expression in the momentous dialogue at Caesarea Philippi, in the words: "The son of man must suffer many things and be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes and after three days rise again." Which of the two elements—the Scripture or the hostility of men—was first in his thought and which the dominant one as the brief day of his life drew toward its close, we cannot say. He is reticent regarding both agencies. He offers no analysis of his fate or of his attitude toward it. He alludes to no particular passage of the Old Testament that may have led him to the solemn conviction that he must be killed. This fact is significant, and especially when we consider how the followers of Jesus, earlier and later, have dealt with the prophetic element in the Old Testament.

With this conviction of a violent death at the hands of men there was immediately associated a confidence in a "rising again" within a short time. That this conviction also had an Old Testament background, we cannot doubt. The ultimate triumph of the Messiah is involved in all the great visions of the coming age. But how the influence of this Old Testament background stood related in the mind of Jesus to his living faith in God as the source of his mission and message, and therefore as the pledge of its success, we cannot determine. Had no prophet before him ever risen to the height of this confidence, this pledge alone would doubtless have been sufficient for the soul of Jesus.

There is one detail of the language in which Jesus expressed his conviction of ultimate triumph over his enemies that we should regard as an allusion to a specific Old Testament text. This is the "three days' " interval between death and "rising again," between defeat and victory. This phrase seems an allusion to the language in which Hosea's faith expressed itself in a day of great darkness: "He hath smitten and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up and we shall live before him" (vi.1, 2). After a very short time—two days or three—Jehovah will turn our sorrow into joy. This confidence of the prophet, figuratively expressed, is the confidence of Jesus, and colors his language.

A few days after the event at Caesarea Philippi, when some of the disciples raised a question about the coming of Elijah, Jesus replied in language

which, like the last passage that was considered, involves the thought of the inevitableness of his fate. His disciples, one of whom at least had confessed faith in his Messiahship, were puzzled to account for a point in the doctrine of the scribes, namely, that Elijah, according to Mal. iv.5, 6, should precede the coming of the Messiah. But now, as it seems to them, the Messiah has come, and Elijah has not come. The expected order of events has been reversed. They would know, therefore, what Jesus thought of this teaching of the scribes. It is noticeable that they did not refer the teaching in question to the prophet Malachi, as would seem to us the natural thing to do, but they cite the point as a teaching of the scribes, just as though they were accustomed to take their scriptural instruction from the lips of the scribes rather than independently from the sacred text.

Jesus in his reply first cites the current view of the scribes (ix.12, 13): "Elijah indeed cometh first and restoreth all things." He cites this, however, to call their attention to the misinterpretation of its second part. The restoration of "all things" before Messiah's coming is manifestly in conflict with that other teaching of Scripture, that he is "to suffer and be set at nought." Were *all* things restored, he would have a universal welcome. Jesus does not allude to any specific text or texts; he simply says it is "written" concerning the son of man that he must suffer many things.

It is not to be overlooked that Jesus here refers to something written concerning "the son of man," though there is nothing in the Old Testament re-

garding the suffering of one who is *there* called "the son of man" in the unique sense of the term. It is clear that Jesus had himself in mind, yet he avoided a direct personal form of expression. This is in keeping with his habitual reticence on the subject of his Messiahship.

We have seen that Jesus rejected a part of the orthodox tenet of the scribes, that is, that Elijah should restore all things. In other words, he rejects a literal interpretation of the passage in Malachi. This is interesting and significant. He obviously rejected such an interpretation in view of other passages of Scripture. The scribes could claim the letter of the sacred text for their view; he set this letter aside under the influence of a more comprehensive view of the Scriptures. Here again the method of Jesus in dealing with the Old Testament clearly implies that it contains conflicting statements and that the reader must read it with judgment.

When Jesus had called attention to the fact that a literal reading of Mal. iv.5, 6 would conflict with certain other Scriptures, he took up a second point in the query of the disciples, and affirmed that Elijah had already come. They are no longer to think of that event as future. The comment in Mt. xvii.13 is doubtless to be accepted, that Jesus had the Baptist in mind when he spoke these words. It was he who was the fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy. But we cannot tell to what Scripture the closing words refer: "they did unto him what they pleased, as has been written about him."

There remains in the oldest Gospel one utterance

of Jesus that concerns the subject in hand. It is the word spoken at the table on the last evening of his life (xiv.21). He had announced his betrayal, and in reply to the sorrowful question of the disciples as to who of them could do such a deed, he said it was one who dipped his bread in the same cup with him, then he added these words: "The son of man goeth as has been written of him." Here again there is no intimation that he had a particular text in mind. Here too, as in the last passage considered, he speaks of something written concerning "the son of man," thus applying to himself what in the Scriptures may have been said of the Lord's "servant." In this passage as in the two preceding ones the thought of the inevitableness of his fate was borne in upon the soul of Jesus, in part at least, from his reading of the Old Testament.

We have now considered all the material in the oldest Gospel that bears directly on Jesus' estimate and use of the Old Testament.[6] This furnishes a positive basis for conclusions. There is, however, another factor in the teaching of Jesus which qualifies the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence hitherto presented. To this we now pass.

When Jesus first spoke in the synagogue in Capernaum his hearers were struck with the note of authority in his teaching. He did not teach as did the scribes (i.22). The scribes had indeed authority for their teaching, a great abundance of

[6] The Danielian phrase in xiii.14 is in a context (the Eschatological Discourse) of such uncertain origin that it has not been considered. Mk. ix.48, cited from Is. lxvi.24, descriptive of "Gehenna," favors the view that Jesus used this term symbolically.

it, but it was the authority of this or that distinguished rabbi, usually of the distant past. The authority with which Jesus spoke was the authority of inner experience and conviction, the authority of manifest truth. He never quoted any of the famous rabbis. What is more, he never, in the record of the oldest Gospel, voluntarily quoted the Old Testament in support of his teaching or his acts. In the same record, he almost never appealed voluntarily to the Old Testament in regard to what he believed to be his mission in the world. His habitual appeal was not to the Law, not to the Prophets, not to the still more powerful traditions of the scribes; his habitual appeal was to the souls of men, to their reason and their religious instincts. In this respect his method of teaching was like that of the great prophets of Israel, like it but more free, more direct, more confident.

We noted this appeal in the preceding study of the Logia. It is more conspicuous in the much longer narrative of Mark. Consider for a moment the prevalence and finality of this appeal in the talk of Jesus. Was his comforting word to the paralytic, "Thy sins are forgiven," thought to be "blasphemous"? Well, then, which is easier, he asks, to say "Thy sins are forgiven" or to say 'Arise and walk"? An appeal to reason. Was he criticized for befriending notorious sinners? That touched the very heart of his message and his reply was an appeal to common sense: "Well people do not need a doctor, but the sick." Was the freedom of his disciples in the matter of fasting called in question? His answer was that the friends of the

bridegroom do not fast while the bridegroom is with them. Another appeal to reason. Were his disciples thought to be violating the Sabbath law because they took of the wayside grain and ate it after cleaning it from the chaff? He gave his critics an answer universally valid inasmuch as it was an appeal to man's rational nature: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." Was he himself held to be dishonoring the holy day because in it he wrought a cure? His reply was an appeal to reason: "Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath or to do evil?" Was he accused of being in league with the devil because he cast out demons? Again an appeal to the rational nature of man: "Would Satan cast out Satan?" Was he endeavoring to impress on his disciples the value of the soul? He said that one should sacrifice the less for the greater. One may well give the hand, the foot, yea, even the eye, to save the rest of the body. Did his enemies seek to entrap him with the burning question of giving tribute to Caesar? Again, as was his habit, he appealed to common reason. Was not Cæsar's image on the coins and were not the coins in their bags? Then give Caesar what belongs to him, and give God what belongs to him.

Such was the method of Jesus. Examples might be multiplied. This was the kind of teaching that contrasted with that of the scribes and made men feel that Jesus had "authority." He spoke out of his own experience, and he appealed confidently to the common sense and instincts of his hearers.

This fact, we say, has a bearing on our conclusions in regard to the estimate which Jesus put on the Old Testament. We must touch on this point again after we have completed our survey of the other historical sources.

CHAPTER III

IN MATTHEW'S UNIQUE MATERIAL

In the oldest Gospel, that is, Mark, Jesus is represented as quoting some fifteen passages from the Old Testament. All these are transferred by Matthew into his narrative and all in the same connections in which they occur in Mark. There are some modifications both in the quotations themselves and in the manner in which they are introduced, but none of these is of consequence for our present study. They do not affect the use that Jesus made of the Old Testament. As we pass, then, to that material concerning our subject which is peculiar to Matthew, that is, not found in Mark or Luke, we do so recognizing this important literary fact touching the relation of Matthew to Mark, that the former takes over from the latter all his record of the quotations which Jesus made from the Old Testament. But with our first step across the line into Matthew's unique material we confront a very suggestive peculiarity of his book. It is his manifest and deep interest in showing an agreement between the life of Jesus and the Old Testament. This constitutes a broad difference between his Gospel and that of Mark. Again and again, ten times in all, he says that a certain point in his narrative was a "fulfilment" of Scripture,

and of the ten all but one refer to events in the life of Jesus. Most striking is the contrast between his use of the Old Testament and that of Jesus in the same writing, and we need to study both in order to come to a close appreciation of either.

Consider, then, briefly, in the first place, how the author of this Gospel used the Old Testament. Four of his ten instances of "fulfilment" are in his story of the birth and infancy of Jesus, to wit, birth from a virgin, return from Egypt, massacre of the infants in Herod's attempt to destroy Jesus, and the name "Nazarene." It is no longer necessary to discuss the legitimacy of the writer's application of any one of these passages. It has been discussed and settled. The record of virgin birth, the flight into Egypt, and the massacre of the infants takes us quite out of the sphere of history into that of legend. The connection between the alleged events and the words cited from Isaiah, Hosea, and Jeremiah is superficial in the extreme. That those prophets contemplated the events here in question, their language, historically understood, does not suggest. It is hardly needful to say that our record of the words of Jesus in its entire extent contains nothing that affords the slightest support of these supposed instances of "fulfilment." All that we find in the Logia and in the oldest Gospel touching Jesus' application of Old Testament words to himself is of a character utterly different from this fanciful line in Matthew. We shall see later that the testimony of the Logia and of Mark is not altered by any historical material in our other sources.

Matthew finds the next "fulfilment" of Scripture in the appearance of Jesus in Capernaum (iv. 12-16). The prophet Isaiah was confident that the darkness which had come over the region of Zebulun and Naphtali would sometime give place to light, and when Jesus came and preached in Capernaum and the neighboring parts of Galilee the prophet's confidence was indeed justified, and more brilliantly justified than it had been at any former time (Is. ix.1, 2). This is a simple fact of history. But that Jesus left Nazareth and took up his abode in Capernaum "in order that" this word of Isaiah might be "fulfilled," implies a view of prophecy unlike that which Jesus held.

Again, Matthew sees the "fulfilment" of Is. liii.4 in the cures of Jesus (iv.17). But disregarding entirely the question whether the Hebrew text refers at all to *physical* disease, it is sufficient to note that the "servant of Jehovah," whom the prophet beholds with his inner eye and describes throughout the 53d Chapter, is a passive sufferer. The thought of an active ministry of teaching and healing, like that of Jesus in Capernaum, is altogether foreign to Isaiah's text. Jesus on the cross might be regarded as a fact in harmony with the vision of Is. liii. but Jesus healing disease is not.

Even more remote and inconclusive is the author's next appeal to the Old Testament in support of his favorite thesis. After the healing of the paralytic in the synagogue in Capernaum, which increased the hostility of the Pharisees toward him, Jesus is said to have withdrawn, followed by many people, whom he charged not to

make him known, and this is said to have been done in order that what was spoken by the prophet might be "fulfilled" (xii.15, 16). Then follows a quotation from Is. xlii.1-4, not wholly according to the Hebrew nor according to the Greek, but these changes need not detain us. The passage, one of the songs of the "Servant," runs as follows:

> Behold, my servant whom I have chosen;
> My beloved in whom my soul is well pleased;
> I will put my spirit upon him,
> And he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles.
> He shall not strive, nor cry aloud;
> Neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets.
> A bruised reed shall he not break,
> And smoking flax shall he not quench,
> Till he send forth judgment unto victory.
> And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.

This passage obviously sets forth the quiet and sympathetic ministry of the "Servant" to the nations, but it is here adduced by Matthew as "fulfilled" in the injunction of Jesus against "making him known," that is, according to the writer, making him known as a healer of disease.

It seems evident that only one thought in this long quotation has even a superficial application to the circumstances which the writer regards as a "fulfilment," viz. the thought that the ministry of the "Servant" will be quiet, undemonstrative, unspectacular. But the fact that Jesus charged the people on a certain occasion not to "make him known" can hardly be regarded as equivalent to the prophet's broad characterization of the general method of the "Servant." The correspondence is incidental rather than essential. What Jesus did

not wish to have cried abroad was the *fact* that he had healed some one, not the *manner* of the healing. The point in mind is a part of his work, not the way in which it is done. Hence we fail to find any noteworthy correspondence between the fact that Jesus did not wish to be proclaimed as a healer of disease and the statement of the prophet that the "Servant" who was to come would not strive or cry and that no one would hear his voice in the streets.

We pass to Matthew's next instance of "fulfilment." On a certain occasion Jesus spoke a number of parables and limited his teaching in that particular hour to this form of speech (Mk. iv.33; Mt. xiii.34). So much Matthew took from the older Gospel. But he added to what he found in Mark and his addition was this, that Jesus spoke in parables in order that the saying of Isaiah the prophet (really Ps. lxxviii. 2, and not Isaiah) might be fulfilled: "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world." But this statement of the Psalmist was immediately "fulfilled" by his own words: he did at once what he said he would do, as anyone who reads the Psalm readily perceives. There is absolutely no reason for finding in it a prediction of the way in which the Christ or anyone else would speak. Yet, Matthew, noting that both the Psalmist and Jesus spoke in "parables," and disregarding the fact that speaking in figures or parables was an everyday occurrence among the Jews of all the generations, concluded that Jesus, in speaking thus, was "fulfilling" the word of the Psalmist. If

this method of handling Scripture had not had a momentous influence in the Church both of earlier and later times it might be dropped and forgotten, but now it cannot be until it is understood and recognized as wrong.

The last instance of Matthew's ingenuity in finding Old Testament words "fulfilled" in the life of Jesus is also by far the happiest (xxi.4). He sees in the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem a fulfilment of Zech. ix.9:

> Tell ye the daughter of Zion,
> Behold, thy king cometh unto thee,
> Meek and riding upon an ass,
> And upon a colt the foal of an ass.

The first line is from Is. lxii.11, but the others are selections from Zech. ix.9. But, while it is a happy application of Scripture to this episode in the life of Jesus, that is all we have a right to claim. We should take ground difficult to defend with arguments recognized by historical students were we to hold that the mode of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem was divinely determined by the language of Zechariah.

It remains to notice briefly the writer's application of the Old Testament in describing the fate of Judas (xxvii.9, 10). The traitor had received thirty [1] pieces of silver for his act. When, overwhelmed with remorse, he took it back to the priests who had paid it to him, they regarded it as "tainted" money and therefore not fit to be put into the Lord's treasury. Accordingly they bought

[1] Note that the oldest Gospel has not this detail (Mk. xiv.11). Was it borrowed from Zechariah? In that case its appearance in the text would be like what is seen in John xix, 36, 37. (See pp. 89–92.)

with it a field to be used as a burial place for strangers. Let us consider now the correspondence between this situation and that which is described (not in "Jeremiah," as the text of Matthew says) in Zech. xi.12, 13. The prophet there said to the poor of the flock of Israel, "If ye think good, give me my hire; and if not, forbear. So they weighed for my hire thirty pieces of silver. And Jehovah said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, the goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them unto the potter in the house of Jehovah."

It is quite plain that the two situations are totally unlike, and that the sole point of correspondence is the "thirty pieces of silver." For though the quotation in Matthew has the words "the potter's field," they are not found in the Hebrew original or in the Greek version of the Seventy. In the Hebrew text the money is cast to "the potter in the house of Jehovah," and there is no reference whatever to a "field" of the potter; according to the Greek translation the money is cast into "the melting-pot in the house of Jehovah."

Hence we have no basis for the view that what occurred when Judas took back to the priests the price of his deed was a "fulfilment" of Zechariah save the single circumstance that in both events the same amount of money was involved. If the act of Judas in returning the money and the use that was later made of it was "fulfilment" of Old Testament prophecy, then indeed Old Testament prophecy was a predictive puzzle-book and, as one of the second century fathers said, it requires a special di-

vine training to make out the puzzle. But this conception of prophecy finds no support in the words of Jesus.

We have now completed our survey of Matthew's highly instructive handling of the Old Testament in his narrative of the life of Jesus. We pass on to consider what light, if any, is thrown on Jesus' own use of the Old Testament in those passages of Matthew which are not found either in the oldest Gospel or in Luke. The new data are few and some of them not free from obscurities.

There is, first, a certain element in the Sermon on the Mount, ostensibly but not certainly words of Jesus. This element is found in three sayings in which Jesus is represented as setting his teaching over against the Law and in sharp opposition to it. There are six sayings of uniform structure, but we cannot say that all six belong wholly to Matthew's unique material, for the substance of three of them is found elsewhere. We place the six here side by side.

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment; but I say unto you, that everyone who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment (v.21, 22).

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that everyone that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart (v.27).

It was said also, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement; but I say unto you, that everyone that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress (v.31, 32).

Again, ye have heard that it was said to them of old time,

Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, Swear not at all (v.33, 34).

Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil (v.38, 39).

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies (v.43, 44).

Now Luke has three of these sayings of Jesus (the third, the fifth, and the sixth), but in his narrative Jesus does not set them in contrast to the Law. Mark has one of them (the third), but in his narrative also as in Luke's it is not contrasted with the Law. This fact raises the important question whether the Matthean form of *all* the six sayings, in which the principles of Jesus are set over against the Law, are not to be ascribed to the writer rather than to Jesus. Three of the principles. we repeat, are found in Luke uncontrasted with the Law.

Further, when Matthew and Luke draw from the same underlying document, that is, the Logia, Luke's versions of what Jesus said are frequently the more compact. Thus his version of the Lord's Prayer is only two-thirds as long as that in Matthew. Now the shorter of two versions is probably nearer to the original than the other, for no Christian would have thought it right to abbreviate the Master's words, though one might with a good conscience expand them, either with the desire to make them clearer or to adapt them to the changing needs of the Church. Finally, the topical arrangement of the teaching of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel —illustrated, for example, by the Sermon on the

Mount, which brings into a single discourse words which, according to Luke, were spoken on several distinct occasions, and some of which plainly belong in the later part of the ministry of Jesus—this arrangement shows a degree of freedom in dealing with his words which is not far removed from what we find in the six passages in question, on the assumption that the contrast with the Law is due to the compiler. We therefore regard this sharp antithetic setting of certain words of Jesus in Mt. v as originating with this writer, who, as we have already seen, was deeply interested in the relation of the Old Testament to Jesus. Hence it throws light on his view of the Old Testament in relation to the teaching of Jesus rather than on that of Jesus himself.

Of course, it cannot be denied that there were striking contrasts between certain statements in the Law and certain principles in the teaching of Jesus. This is, however, not the point at issue here. The simple question is whether it is in harmony with what we know of Jesus' method of teaching to believe that he formally called attention to the contrast between his words and the word of the Law. We have indicated our grounds for a negative answer to this question.

Passing from this feature of the Sermon on the Mount, we note that Matthew alone ascribes to Jesus the sweeping statement that, far from having "come" to destroy the Law or the Prophets, he came to "fulfil" (v.17). We can understand that Jesus may have been accused of destroying the Law even as he was charged with overthrowing the tradi-

tions of the elders. For instance, the freedom with which he continued his work on the Sabbath was thought to be an infringement of the law. We have no evidence that he was charged with destroying the "Prophets" in particular. Probably the phrase "law and prophets" was used simply as a designation of the entire Scriptures. If Jesus "destroyed" one part, he might, though quite illogically, be held guilty of destroying it all. The positive assertion attributed to him in Mt. v.17 is that he came to "fulfil" Law and Prophets. Now, if we may define the word "fulfil" out of the first two of the passages that follow, wherein the teaching of Jesus is set over against the Law, then it may be held to be a genuine word of the Master. But, thus defined, his "fulfilment" was most unlike the conception of "fulfilment" in the ten instances where the writer of this Gospel employs it, which we have considered earlier in this Chapter. For "fulfilment" of Law and Prophets, if the term be defined according to Mt. v.21, 22 and v.27, 28, consists in setting up a higher standard of life than that of the Old Testament. So the word means completion, and the nature of the completion, as appears from the same passages, is that it substitutes an inner principle for an outward rule. That is surely what Jesus aimed to do by his teaching, and therefore, if we understand "fulfilment" in this sense, we may regard the word in Mt. v.17 as spoken by Jesus.

It is, however, necessary that this claim of advance beyond the Law and the Prophets be understood in a broad general sense. For Jesus did not

set up, or suggest, a higher religious and ethical standard than is contained in the two principles of supreme love of God and equal love of our neighbor. These are the heights of Old Testament teaching, and Jesus did not seek for anything higher as regards man's duty. And yet a claim to complete the Old Testament standard of life as a whole may well have been made by Jesus if only out of the conviction that the God whom it is man's just duty to love had not yet been revealed fully in his lovableness. It should be remembered, however, that this is an isolated claim, probably called out by an accusation that Jesus was destroying the Law.

The assertion, not strictly peculiar to Matthew but found in its essential content in Lk. xvi. 17, that no jot or tittle of the Law should pass "till all things be accomplished," stands as the reason why Jesus would not "destroy" it. It is intelligible on his lips if we remember that his language, like that of the great prophets and poets of Israel, is highly figurative. To take it in a literal sense is often to miss its meaning entirely. The Law as a whole—so we may understand the verse—was to remain until enforced, which enforcement, if we understand the thought of Jesus, was to be realized in that new order which he was initiating.

It is not inconsistent with his statement touching the permanence of the Law that he set aside the statute regarding divorce and did not keep the letter of the Sabbath statute. The current interpretation of the Old Testament legislation made its observance a heavy burden; Jesus' attitude toward it was one of large freedom, sanely distinguishing be-

tween the lesser and the greater, between the transient and the permanent.

But Mt. v.19, another general statement concerning the Old Testament that is attributed to Jesus, is not altogether in harmony with his thought as elsewhere expressed. "Anyone, therefore, who weakens one of the slightest of these commands, and teaches others to do so, will be ranked lowest in the Kingdom of Heaven; but anyone who observes them and teaches others to do so, will be ranked high in the Kingdom of Heaven." Now Jesus regarded the Law, as we saw in the oldest Gospel, as part of the old order which continued until John the Baptist, and he said that the least in the Kingdom of God was "greater" than John, was "more than a prophet." But this passage in Matthew seems to recognize no change of order between the dispensation of the Law and the "Kingdom of God." Moreover, according to this text even one who weakens the least of the commandments may yet be in the Kingdom of Heaven though ranked among the least there, while one who observes and teaches these same commandments is not only in the Kingdom of Heaven but is ranked as one of the great ones there. This is plainly at variance with the teaching of Jesus in his words regarding the Baptist.

Again, this language seems to imply that some people, at the time when it was spoken, were teaching others to disregard the Law. But we cannot suppose that the disciples of Jesus, while he was with them, so far disregarded his own example as to teach men to break the Old Testament statutes.

The verse seems to reflect the condition of a later time when there arose in the Church a sharp antagonism to the Law. For these reasons, then, we regard Mt. v.19 as an instance of carrying back into the teaching of Jesus thoughts that arose subsequent to his ministry. This is done by the writer in at least three other passages, but two of these do not concern our subject (xvi. 18, 19, xxviii. 18-20).

In considering the material which Matthew alone gives us, we come now to the incident of the disciples in the grain-field on the Sabbath. In Mark Jesus cites in defense of his followers the story of David and the shew-bread; according to Matthew he cited also the case of priests who, as everyone knew, ministered in the temple on the Sabbath, but were not held guilty of violating the Sabbath law (xii. 5; Num. xxviii. 9, 10). Is this a second Old Testament illustration drawn by Jesus, or is it a passage sought out by the author of this Gospel? Clearly it lacks the perfect fitness of the illustration from the story of David, for the priests were required by the Law to minister on the Sabbath as on every other day. That was a legal necessity. But there was no statute that forbade the rubbing of heads of grain that one might secure the kernel to satisfy hunger. Hence the addition of this second illustration of Matthew seems to confuse the defense of the disciples' conduct. It is, however, a natural addition to be made by a writer who was deeply interested, as this one certainly was, in applying the Old Testament to the life of Jesus.

In close connection with this illustration Matthew has a saying of Jesus similar to those in the

Logia which have the phrases "something more than Jonah," "something more than Solomon." Now the statement is, "something more than the temple is here" (xii.6). Because of the intimate relation of this saying to the preceding illustration one's judgment regarding the genuineness of the former will probably be extended to the genuineness of the latter. There is, however, a point worthy of consideration which is independent of the connection of this saying with the last. It is the intrinsic fitness of the comparison. A comparison of the message of Jesus with that of Jonah or Solomon is natural and fit, but we could hardly say the same of a comparison of his message with the "temple."

Matthew's report of the words of Jesus on this occasion concludes with a direct quotation from Hosea: "If you knew what the saying means, "It is mercy, not sacrifice, that I care for,' you would not have condemned men who are not guilty" (Mt. xii. 7; Hos. vi. 6). This great word of the prophet, which represents Jehovah as caring only for the inner spirit of man and not for the outward rites of worship, is certainly akin to the thought of Jesus, but if he cited the words on this occasion it was to rebuke the critics, not to defend his disciples. This word from Hosea is found also in Matthew's version of the reply of Jesus to the criticism that he ate with sinners (ix.13). There also its pertinency is not apparent, and it breaks the course of thought.

We conclude, therefore, that all the three items which Matthew adds to the oldest Gospel's report of the incident in the grain-field may best be

regarded as his own expansion of the defense that Jesus made. The version of Mark with its one perfect defensive illustration from the Old Testament and its fundamental appeal to reason in the words, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath," is more forcible, as it is more compact, than that of the later and secondary narrative.

The next passage to be considered is Mt. xviii. 15-17, where an informal citation from Dt. xix.15 is ascribed to Jesus. The case under consideration here is that of one's duty toward an offending brother. If such an one cannot be convinced of his error in a private interview, then the one who has suffered the injury is to go to him again with one or two other persons, that at the mouth of "two or three witnesses every word may be established." The seventeenth verse carries the legalistic procedure to its bitter end in the words: "If he refuses to listen to them, tell the congregation. And if he refuses to listen to it, treat him as a heathen or a tax-collector."

This appeal to the law, as also the subsequent words, we regard as quite manifestly not from Jesus. Its origin is to be found in the author, or at least in some one in the early Church. The evidence against its being a saying of Jesus is overwhelming. The elaborateness of the proposed method of procedure—three grades of inquisitorial treatment with a definite penalty for incorrigible obstinacy—points clearly to a time after the formation of a Christian community separate from the synagogue and temple. So in like manner does the

occurrence of the word "congregation" (ἐκκλησία), which does not occur in the Logia or in the oldest Gospel or in Luke, but only here and in the unauthentic passage, Mt. xvi.18. Apart from these two passages there is not in all the recorded words of Jesus any indication whatever that he thought of forming a new outward organization for his followers. This fact alone is sufficient evidence that we cannot regard this passage as genuine. But no less fatal to its genuineness is the unchristian spirit with which it closes. Jesus did not treat anyone as a "heathen" and a "tax-collector." He taught unlimited forgiveness both by precept and example. His words about love forbid the exclusion from our fellowship even of an offending brother. Such an one may exclude himself, as Judas excluded himself from the fellowship of Jesus, but the duty of kindness toward him remains, for such is the spirit of God himself, who makes his sun shine on the evil and sends rain on the unjust.

Matthew's peculiar material includes one incident near the close of the ministry of Jesus in connection with which he is represented as citing a verse of Scripture (xxi.14-16). It is said that Jesus healed certain blind and lame persons in the temple, and that children in the same place shouted "Hosanna" to the "Son of David." Both these acts angered the chief priests and scribes, and they challenged Jesus, saying, "Hearest thou what these are saying?" as though, if he had heard, he ought to have silenced the children. To this challenge Jesus answered: "Yes. Did you never read, You have drawn praise from the mouths of children and in-

fants?' " So reads Ps. viii. 2, not in the Hebrew, which has "strength" instead of "praise," but in the Greek version of the Seventy. Of the three Old Testament quotations attributed to Jesus in those parts of Matthew which are peculiar to him, this is least open to a question of its having been used by Jesus. Its perfect fitness as a reply to the complaint of the scribes speaks for its genuineness.

It remains to sum up in a few words the results of this investigation of Matthew's peculiar material in its bearing on our subject. The outstanding facts are, first, his deep interest in tracing a relation of "fulfilment" between the Old Testament and the life of Jesus, which is in obvious contrast with Jesus' use of the Old Testament in relation to himself; second, the freedom with which he ascribes to Jesus an Old Testament quotation in xviii. 6 and his freedom in handling certain thoughts in the Sermon on the Mount, setting them over against the Law; and, third, the lack of any new light on Jesus' use of the Old Testament. When, therefore, we fix our thought on those parts of Matthew's narrative which are his very own, not taken from the Logia or borrowed from the oldest Gospel, we find a marked theological interest. As far as our early records inform us, he was the first to dwell on the "fulfilment" of the Old Testament in Jesus—a line of curious study destined to occupy a large place in the coming centuries, and he was also one of the first to make the Founder of the new faith responsible for thoughts which were subsequent to his day.

CHAPTER IV

IN LUKE'S UNIQUE MATERIAL

What further light on Jesus' use of the Old Testament is to be obtained from that material in Luke's narrative which is not found in Matthew or in the oldest Gospel? Before seeking to answer this question, we note, first, that Luke's Gospel contains all but four of those quotations from the Old Testament which in Mark are attributed to Jesus, and has them in the same connections in which they appear in Mark. We note, in the second place, that Luke, unlike Matthew, has no word whatever on the "fulfilment" of the Old Testament in Jesus. He is at one with Mark in this respect. And we note, in the third place, that Luke, though having a considerable amount of material not found in Mark or in Matthew, has in that material but three direct quotations by Jesus from the Old Testament. But though Luke has nothing to say on the attitude of Jesus toward the Old Testament, and though, in those passages which are peculiar to him, he has but three direct quotations by Jesus from the old Testament, he nevertheless has some material that is of great importance for our subject, together with some that is parallel to that of Mark and Matthew.

The first illustration of this latter class of ma-

terial is the word addressed to the ten lepers (xvii. 14): "Go and show yourselves to the priests," which is plainly equivalent to what in Mark's narrative he once said to an individual leper. For the present hour, at least, he wished the ceremonial law to be observed by those who had been cleansed of leprosy. One cannot generalize from this single instance regarding his attitude toward this law in all its widely diverse elements.

Luke adds to the narrative of the oldest Gospel two references by Jesus to the Old Testament, viz. xviii. 31 and xxii. 22, both of which are parallel to Mk. xiv. 21. In Luke's unique material he ascribes to Jesus three Scripture quotations—iv.18, 19, xxii. 37 and xxiii. 30. The first of these is in a passage which will be discussed later. The second is a part of Is. liii.12: "and he was numbered with transgressors." Like the first announcement of his death in the conversation at Caesarea Philippi this one is introduced by Jesus as something that "must" be. The third quotation is in the words to those women who followed Jesus toward Golgotha, bewailing his fate. It is Hos. x. 8: "Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us! and to the hills, Cover us!" Jesus used the words in portraying the evil days he saw approaching. Their poetical quality would have appealed to the poet in Jesus.

In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (xvi. 19-31) Abraham is represented as saying to the spirit of the former with reference to his five brothers: "They have Moses and the Prophets; let them listen to them." And again: "If they will

not listen to Moses and the Prophets, they will not be convinced even if some one rises from the dead." What is here claimed for Moses and the Prophets is that, if men heed their teaching, it is sufficient to keep them from the fate of the Rich Man. This word surely implies a lofty estimate of Moses and the Prophets, but we cannot say that it implies the perfection of their ideal of life. Indeed, it has to do only with a single element of right conduct, viz. the duty of mercifulness. This is of course clearly taught in the Old Testament. So this saying in Luke reflects an estimate of the value of the Old Testament similar to that of Jesus' words to the man who would obtain eternal life.

We pass now from this parable to a detail in Luke's narrative of an historical event. Though in itself a detail, it is yet of great importance in this study. The event referred to is the death of Jesus, and the particular detail a saying ascribed to him.

The hour when Jesus expired on the cross is said to have been one of unusual darkness, and we must say that our sources of information regarding what transpired in that hour are shadowed with unusual obscurities. This is illustrated by the manner in which Luke completes his account of the last moments of Jesus' life. The oldest Gospel had said that Jesus expired with a "loud cry," and with this Matthew agrees. But, according to Luke, when Jesus had called with a loud voice he said: "Father, I intrust my spirit to your hands" (xxiii. 46). This is quoted from Ps. xxxi. 5 with the addition of the word "Father." Now we may well believe that these words or words like these were in the

heart of Jesus in the last hour of his life or as long as consciousness remained, for they breathe a spirit that was always his. The word "Father" shadows forth a truth that had been to him dearer than life, and this truth doubtless lighted his way to the last. But although this saying in Luke is profoundly Christian and ideally beautiful, its genuineness is no less obscured than is that of the "Eloi, Eloi" cry in Mk. xv. 34. It seems impossible to bring Luke into accord with the oldest Gospel. If Jesus expired with a "loud cry," then he did not expire with the quiet and tender prayer recorded in Luke; and had he expired with this prayer on his lips it would be very difficult to believe that it would not have had a place in the oldest Gospel. It was the faith of the earliest disciples, as it is ours, that the death of Jesus was in the truest sense a triumphant death, and it is possible that this faith of theirs found symbolic expression in the "loud cry" with which Jesus expired. This suggestion is somewhat confirmed by the fact that the next verse in the oldest Gospel, that which records the rending of the veil in the temple, is surely to be taken as a symbolic legend. Now, whether Luke understood the "loud cry" in this manner or not, it was obviously natural that Christians should have desired to put some intelligible content into the inarticulate "cry" of the oldest Gospel.

We conclude, then, that in Lk. xxiii. 46 we have a Christian adaptation of an Old Testament saying, for the insertion of which the author of this Gospel is responsible.

The passages in Luke that remain to be considered are of all the most important for our subject. One of the two is at the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus and the other is put on the day of the resurrection.

In Lk iv.16-30 Jesus is represented as opening a roll of the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth, and though it is not explicitly said that he read from this roll, that is of course implied. The verses quoted are the first and second of Is. lxi. Are we to regard this scene in the synagogue at Nazareth at the opening of the public ministry of Jesus as historical or as a free-hand drawing by the evangelist? The chief reasons for holding the second view are these:

(1) According to the oldest Gospel Jesus did not openly claim to be the Messiah until the last day of his life, and even then the claim was not spontaneous but was called forth by the challenge of the high priest. Furthermore, according to the oldest Gospel, Jesus did not take his own chosen disciples into the secret of his personal conviction regarding himself until the great day at Caesarea Philippi, at the close of the Galilean ministry. But this passage in Luke, if historical, stands in open conflict with the oldest account of Jesus' life, for in it Jesus openly declares that a well known Messianic word was then and there fulfilled in him.

It should be clearly borne in mind, too, that in the oldest Gospel the disclosure at Caesarea Philippi is a determining factor in the public career of Jesus and an important element in his training of the twelve. Therefore it would be a most serious mat-

ter to accept as historical an account that is in conflict with this fundamental fact in Mark's Gospel.

(2) This story which Luke gives us as the opening scene of the public ministry of Jesus contains some items which Mark and also Matthew put much later in their narratives. Thus, according to Mark, Jesus worked in Capernaum, made a tour in Galilee, and worked a second time in Capernaum before he went to Nazareth and had the experience of being rejected, while in Luke he is rejected in Nazareth at the very beginning of the Galilean period. Again, the word that Luke puts at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country" (iv. 24), Mark has in his account of the rejection in Nazareth which comes far along in the Galilean ministry. Was Jesus twice rejected in his native town? Did the Nazarenes twice use the same words about Jesus, and did Jesus quote the same proverb to them twice? Such suppositions are of course not to be seriously considered.

(3) Again, according to the oldest Gospel, the opposition to Jesus was of gradual growth. From the first he was welcomed by the common people, and the earliest manifestation of dislike and hatred came from the scribes and Pharisees. But here in Luke's narrative, at his very first appearance in Nazareth, Jesus is emphatically rejected, and rejected by the citizens of the town, not specifically by the scribes. This is not only against our primary historical source, but it is also against all intrinsic probabilities.

(4) Finally, according to this passage in Luke,

Jesus was very severe even in his first address. For though at the beginning of his address he uttered "words of grace," he did not finish until he had said things which aroused the deepest resentment, and provoked open and violent hostility. This representation is antagonistic to the oldest Gospel's account of the early ministry of Jesus and of the source of bitterness toward him. We may confidently say that it was not in accord with the gentle character and patient method of Jesus as a teacher to represent him, at the beginning of his ministry, as talking in such a manner that he called out the worst in the hearts of his hearers.

In view of these considerations we are compelled to regard Luke's synagogue address as a free-hand construction, as we do the songs of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon in the same Gospel, and as we do the longer speeches in the Book of Acts. It adds nothing, therefore, to our knowledge of Jesus' use of the Old Testament. This reference to his reading from the Scriptures—the only one in the Gospels—and the choice of a specific Old Testament text for an address, as well as the declaration that a particular Messianic word was fulfilled in him, are all to be set to the credit of the evangelist. No one of the items has a parallel elsewhere in the Gospels.

The last passages in Luke which bear on the subject of Jesus' relation to the Old Testament are found in the post-resurrection narratives (xxiv.13-50). We read here that Jesus on the road to Emmaus with Cleopas and a companion, after he had led them on to tell him of their present state of mind, which was one of doubt and perplexity con-

cerning himself, said: "How foolish you are and how slow to believe all that the prophets have said! Did not the Christ have to suffer thus before entering upon his glory?" Then the narrative continues: "He began with Moses and all the prophets and explained to them the passages all through the Scriptures that referred to himself."

Now we know from the oldest Gospel, and also from the early strata of Matthew and Luke, that it was not the method of Jesus to appeal to the Old Testament in support of his teaching or in explanation of himself. His method was spiritual; he spoke out of the experience of his own soul, and hence "with authority," and unlike the scribes. The instances are very few where, of his own accord, he cited an Old Testament incident or word. And when he did cite from that source it was a single luminous illustration like that from the story of David, or some deep prophetic saying; it was never anything approaching a formal series of Scripture texts. But turning now from this clear and consistent view of our earliest sources to Luke's narrative, we find Jesus represented, after his resurrection, as speaking quite after the manner of the scribes, summoning Moses, the Prophets, and *all* the Scriptures to give their testimony concerning himself. Is such a change of method in Jesus at all probable—a change from the method of spiritual life to a dependence on external authority? Can we think that Jesus after death and resurrection was less truly a spiritual prophet and more of a rabbi than he had been in his life? If death wrought any change in his thought of the needs

of his followers—which of course we have no ground whatever for conjecturing—would it not be a change to the more spiritual rather than to the less?

Not only is the method of this reputed discourse of Jesus radically unlike that which he followed during his earthly ministry, but the content also, broadly considered, is without a parallel in all the pre-resurrection teaching of Jesus. For what is here asserted? That Jesus found words concerning himself, especially concerning his death and entrance into glory, in Moses and in all the Prophets. But in the historical records of his ministry Jesus is not said to have found any word concerning himself in the writings attributed to Moses, while the few Scripture words which he did apply to himself are drawn from the Psalms and two or three of the Prophets. Now this expansion of the Old Testament witness to the death and glory of the Christ, making it cover "all the Scriptures," marks off this "witness" from that cited by Jesus himself in our records of his earthly ministry, and points clearly to the well known practice of the early Church. The so-called "argument from prophecy" was developed by the fathers to incredible lengths, until it resembled a pyramid balanced on its sharp apex.

We make a passing mention of another item in this remarkable and important narrative of Luke. It is this, that the risen Master who was on the road from Jerusalem to Emmaus is represented as speaking of himself as having already entered into "his glory" (xxiv. 26). He is there on the road with

Cleopas, and yet he has entered into "his glory"! If this language implies that the risen Christ was, in the mind of the writer, omnipresent, then it unquestionably takes us into a realm of theological speculation quite foreign to the historical records of the teaching of Jesus in regard to himself.

The remaining passage in Luke which is pertinent to our subject is closely related to that which has just been considered, yet it has new features. It is represented as spoken by Jesus in Jerusalem on the evening of the day of resurrection (xxiv. 21, 33). It reads thus: "This is what I told you when I was still with you—that everything that is written about me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must come true" (xxiv. 44).

Then, according to the narrator, Jesus "opened" the minds of the disciples that they might understand the Scriptures, and then added these words: "The Scriptures said that the Christ should suffer as he has done, and rise from the dead on the third day, and that repentance leading to the forgiveness of sins should be preached to all the heathen in his name" (xxiv. 46, 47).

What first arrests our attention here is the assertion that what is now spoken by Jesus is not different from what he had spoken "while he was yet with them," that is to say, during his earthly ministry. But why this assertion unless the author of the narrative was conscious that what he was writing might appear to some of his readers to be a new teaching? And, as a matter of fact, it is indeed new, for in the pre-resurrection sayings of Jesus there is not one in which he claims that Moses wrote of

him. Moreover, as we saw in connection with the last passage, the evident purpose of the detailed description of the Old Testament—Moses, Psalms, Prophets—is to claim that throughout the Scriptures of the Old Testament, from beginning to end, Christ is everywhere in view. This statement, as the study of the sources conclusively shows, is not warranted. It goes far beyond the utmost claim that is involved in the allusions which Jesus made to a Messianic element in the Old Testament.

The second arresting point in the words here ascribed to Jesus is the last sentence: "That repentance leading to forgiveness of sins should be preached to all the heathen in his name." All this is said to be a part of the Scriptures, that is to say, it is found somewhere in Moses or the Psalms or the Prophets. Doubtless the duty of repentance and the gracious promise of pardon *are* found in the Old Testament, as also the thought that all nations are to share in the blessing of Israel. We may go further and say that the Old Testament associates this universal participation in the blessing of Israel with the coming Deliverer; but in the passage before us Jesus himself is represented as telling his disciples that, according to the Old Testament, this preaching of repentance and remission of sins was to be "in his name." Now in our records of the life and teaching of Jesus—this single passage excepted—he never alludes even indirectly to finding in the Old Testament the thought that repentance and forgiveness of sins were to be preached in his name. He never claims that this is a part of Old Testament teaching, and, what is more, he nowhere

enunciates it as a part of his *own* message from God.

We are therefore compelled to regard both of these post-resurrection passages in Lk. xxiv. as irreconcilable with the teaching of the historical Jesus. We have no reason to attribute them to any other than the author of this Gospel. One obvious aim in these compositions, perhaps the writer's chief aim, was to show that the death of Christ was scriptural. His death had been from the first a stumbling-block in the way of Jewish acceptance of him as Messiah, for the Jews had been taught that the Messiah would reign forever. Hence the stress that was laid, in New Testament times and later, on the argument that the Messiah's death and resurrection had been foreseen and described by writers of the Old Testament. In pressing this argument Luke goes beyond Paul, for while Paul argued from the Scriptures that it behoved the Christ to suffer he did not represent Jesus himself as having so argued. Luke does that.

But though forced to the conclusion that these post-resurrection passages in Luke contain no words of Jesus, it is to be freely admitted that they are not wholly without historical basis. We have seen that Jesus toward the close of his ministry, when referring to his near death, gave his disciples to understand that he found it foreshadowed in the Old Testament. What he said on the subject was brief and allusive, nor was it put forward as an argument for his Messiahship. We know that he looked for the acceptance of his mission on spiritual grounds and not on any external authority. But

the Lucan passages which we have been considering represent him as appealing systematically, and, as far as they go, exclusively, to an outward authority. This amounts to a very serious misrepresentation of the Master's view.

In concluding our survey of that part of Luke's Gospel that is not found elsewhere we will sum up the results of our study in regard to the bearing of this unique material on Jesus' use of the Old Testament.

We say, first, that, while it contains one fresh and striking confirmation of Jesus' high estimate of the value of the Old Testament, it throws no really new light on his relation to it.

We say, in the second place, that the great overshadowing fact in Luke's unique material is the freedom with which he constructs sayings and arguments for Jesus. This literary freedom is more notable and fascinating than that which we observe in Matthew's unique material. In both cases we see a principle at work which, while consistent with the literary ethics of that age, has helped to blur or even blot out the historical outlines of the teaching of Jesus.

CHAPTER V

IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The writer of the Fourth Gospel, unlike the earliest of the synoptists, had very definite views in regard to the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament, and these views appear quite fully in the course of his writing. In order to understand the use which Jesus made of the Old Testament as presented in John we shall first consider the writer's own use of it. Passing through this door we may hope to be able to judge fairly and correctly those passages of this Gospel in which Jesus is represented as dealing in some more or less direct manner with the writings of the Old Testament.

In his Introduction the author makes this broad contrast between Moses and his ministry, on one hand, and Christ and his ministry, on the other: "The Law was given through Moses, blessing and truth came to us through Jesus Christ" (i. 17). This statement, though somewhat general and vague in character, does not necessarily affirm more than we find implied in the oldest Gospel, e.g., in the saying: "Many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things that ye see and saw them not"; or, again, in the words: "Something more than Jonah is here." But when we look at the

context of these words in John we see that we are in a different realm of thought from that of the synoptic passages to which we have just referred. For here we have an explanation of the claim that Jesus stood higher than Moses, which explanation consists in the assertion that by his unique essential relation to God Jesus possessed a knowledge of him impossible to any other being.

But although the author of the Fourth Gospel put Jesus infinitely above Moses, he yet regarded Moses and the Old Testament in general as supernaturally connected with the dispensation in Jesus. Here we note a decided advance beyond what was found in Matthew and Luke in regard to the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament and the relation of the Old Testament to him. This advance is seen at several points.

First, the Old Testament prediction of events in the career of the Christ is here clearly extended to include certain material things and the use that was made of them in Israel's history. In the oldest Gospel and in the words of Jesus himself in Matthew and Luke there is, as we have been, no appeal to a strictly predictive element in the Old Testament, though both the evangelists Matthew and Luke accepted such an element. The advance in John is that things and events, as well as words, are regarded as predictive. Here we have to consider the lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness (Num. xxi. 8, 9). It is clear that the teaching of John iii.14, 15 belongs to the author of the Gospel. It could not be attributed to Jesus without a violent break with the oldest Gospel. For according to

that and also according to the oldest strata of Matthew and Luke, Jesus did not tell his chosen disciples of the fate which he foresaw for himself until late in his ministry, but here it is announced early in the ministry and announced to a man who was not yet a disciple. For this reason alone we must see in John iii. 14, 15 an illustration of the author's own handling of the Old Testament, not that of Jesus; and it is only as such an illustration that we are concerned with it here.

It is plain that John regarded the event described in Num. xxi. 8, 9 as a figure of salvation through the cross of Jesus. Back of both events is a divine necessity (the son of man "must" be lifted up); in both a victim is "lifted up"; and in both cases help comes to man through a certain personal attitude toward this victim, an attitude described as "looking" and "believing." Here doubtless, as also in John vi. 40, the author saw in the act of Moses a symbolic prefigurement of the Christian salvation, as this salvation was understood by him. It is indeed of immense importance that he attributed his own reading of an Old Testament incident to Jesus, but of this we will speak later. The point in view now is that the author of this Gospel saw in an Old Testament *event* a prediction of what he regarded as a great Christian truth.

Another passage of John to be associated with that of the brazen serpent is xix. 36, 37, which consists of these two Old Testament quotations: "Not one of its bones shall be broken," and "They shall look at the man whom they pierced" (Ex. xii. 46; Zech. xii.10). According to John's narrative the

legs of the two criminals who had been crucified with Jesus were broken, apparently to hasten their death, but as Jesus was already dead when this took place his bones were not broken, but one of the soldiers, in what would seem to have been a mood of brutal wantonness, thrust a spear into his side. Now in these two circumstances the writer saw the fulfilment of two Old Testament passages. It had been commanded in Exodus that a bone of the Passover lamb should not be broken. Hence Jesus, for the writer of this Gospel, was shown to be the antitype of the Passover lamb by the fact that his bones remained unbroken. And so profoundly important in his mind was this symbolic prediction concerning Christ that he departed from the oldest Gospel's representation of the day and hour of the crucifixion and put it on "the day of Preparation for the Passover" at about the "sixth" hour, thus making it correspond, at least in the matter of the day, with the time fixed for the killing of the paschal lamb, while according to Mark, our primary historical source for the events of Jesus' life, it was on the *next* day at the *third* hour.

Another evidence of the great significance which the author of the Fourth Gospel saw in this symbolic prediction by the unbroken bones of the Passover lamb is the fact that he represented John the Baptist as proclaiming the same thought, even before Jesus had begun his work. For when the Baptist, on two occasions, pointed to Jesus as God's "lamb," there is no doubt that he saw in him, according to the writer, the antitype of the paschal lamb (i. 29, 36).

In the "spear-thrust" the writer saw a fulfilment of the word of Zech. xii.10: "They shall look unto me (him) whom they have pierced." It is sufficient for our present purpose to note two points in this application of Zechariah's words. And first, the writer plucks the words out of their context. The "looking" of which the prophet speaks is in a mood of sorrowful penitence that results from an outpouring of a "spirit of grace and supplication"; here in John, since the reference is to the Jews who have brought Jesus to the cross, the "looking" is not with sorrow but with exultation over the death of a hated foe. So the situations are as unlike as possible; and it is a bare literalism that ignores this fact. No interpretation of any writing, sacred or profane, which disregards the purpose of the writer whose words are interpreted, is of any real value.

Again, it is to be noted in regard to this application of Zechariah's words that the author of the Fourth Gospel presents as certain what his sources leave uncertain. The Greek Old Testament does not say "whom they have pierced," but "whom they have insulted," and the Hebrew original does not clearly use the word "pierce" in a material sense. Indeed, since Jehovah is there the speaker, it is more probable that the word is used in a figurative sense, as the Greek translators understood it. So the pertinency of this application of an Old Testament word is reduced to the vanishing point. We conclude that the circumstances themselves, i.e. the breaking of the bones and the spear-thrust, of which the oldest Gospel has no knowledge, are

probably the product of a religious imagination acting under a profound belief in a comprehensive divine agreement between the life of Jesus and the Old Testament.

There is another point in which John's use of Scripture departs from that of the earlier evangelists. It is the thought that a literal fulfilment of what the writer regards as predictive words is a divine necessity. Thus he says that the people of Jerusalem *could* not believe because the prophet Isaiah had said: "He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart" (xii. 39; Is. vi. 10). We are concerned here simply with the obvious thought that the inability of the Jews of Jerusalem to believe in Jesus was a divine judgment of hardening necessitated by the prediction of Isaiah. In the oldest Gospel this same passage of Isaiah is cited by Jesus, but not as an explanation of the hearers' unbelief. It is cited as a pertinent ancient illustration of a present fact. But the author of the Fourth Gospel, in harmony with Paul's view of predestination (Rom. ix.14-18), regards the unbelief of the Jews in xii. 39 as an effect of Isaiah's word, fixed and inevitable, a necessary part of the same divine plan.[1]

The same conception of Scripture is found in the author's remark concerning the visit of Peter and John to the sepulchre in Joseph's garden (xx. 9). He says in explanation of their coming: "They did not yet understand the statement of Scripture that he must rise from the dead." He does not indicate

[1] John xii.38, quoting Is. liii.1, reflects essentially the same thought of prophecy as the verse that follows.

what particular passage of the Old Testament he had in mind, but that is not important here. He regards the resurrection as divinely necessary, and this necessity as springing out of some ancient Scripture.

There are two implications in the author's language that should not be overlooked. The disciples, he says, had not understood the Scripture that Jesus must rise. It would seem to follow that Jesus had not instructed them concerning that point of Scripture—a silence on his part which would be somewhat strange if he himself had seen in the Old Testament an unmistakable prediction of his physical resurrection. This implication suggests that the author of this Gospel saw something in the Scriptures about Jesus which Jesus himself had not seen, though we might suppose that it would have been greatly to his encouragement had he seen it. It is enough to remind ourselves here that according to our primary historical sources Jesus never intimated, either by a word of Scripture or by a word of his own, that he anticipated a physical resurrection.

Not less suggestive is a second implication of this passage. Peter and John ran to the sepulchre, says the author, entered in, saw the orderliness of the place, and "believed." "For they did not yet understand the Scripture that he must rise from the dead." The implication is that, *had* they known the Scripture, they would not have needed to come to the tomb. Their minds would have been at rest without any ocular proofs of the resurrection (cf. John xx. 29). It seems to follow that the

Scripture which the author had in his thought must have seemed to him as clear as day. But where is there such a Scripture about the resurrection? No scholar of the present day can discover it. Since therefore he had the same Old Testament that we have, he must have read it in a manner totally different from that of modern scholarship; and in view of the general practice of the Church in the early centuries we conclude that he must have read it allegorically. That is the surest way in which one can find in the Scriptures what one seeks.

We pass to a third point in which John's view of Scripture is noteworthy and, as compared with those of the earlier evangelists, novel as well. This concerns the nature of prophetic vision. After citing words from Is. vi. and liii., the writer adds the explanatory remark: "Isaiah said this because he saw his glory" (xii. 41). Here we come upon a fundamental principle of the early handling of the Old Testament. It is that the prophets of the Christ "saw" him—"saw" what the author of this Gospel says that he with others saw, the "glory" of the Logos manifest in the flesh (i.14). Hence, obviously, in the writer's thought, the Christ had been manifested to the prophets as really as to himself. Thus we come very near to the substance of Augustine's famous couplet on the relation of the Old Testament to the New:

> Novum testamentum in vetere latet,
> Vetus testamentum in novo patet.[2]

In this conception of the Old Testament the writer

[2] The New Testament in the Old is concealed,
The Old Testament in the New is revealed.

is one with the early Church and just as plainly *not* one with Jesus. Related to the foregoing thought, yet not the same, is the view of the author of the Fourth Gospel that Christ is sometimes heard speaking in the Old Testament. After his account of the traffickers being driven from the temple by Jesus, he adds these words: "His disciples remembered that the Scriptures said, 'My zeal for your house will consume me' " (ii.17; Ps. lxix.9). The one addressed in the Psalm is God: the temple is his "house"; and the speaker is thought of as the Messiah. If John thought of Christ as having spoken in this passage of the Old Testament, it is not improbable that he regarded him as the speaker in other Messianic texts.

Of course, this view, so fatal in the history of the interpretation of the Bible and in the history of Christian teaching, is quite in harmony with the author's conception of Christ as having been in the world "from the beginning" and as having come "to his own" through all past ages. It is evidently a logical detail of his Logos doctrine.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have considered those points in which the author of the Fourth Gospel in his view of the Old Testament departs both from the writers of the earlier Gospels and from Jesus' teaching as recorded there. Thus he found predictions in certain material things and the use made of them in Israel's history; he regarded the literal fulfilment of prophecies as divinely necessitated; he thought of Christ as clearly manifested to the prophet Isaiah, and presumably to all

other prophets as well; and finally he thought of Christ as speaking in the Old Testament.

It remains now to consider briefly one passage in this Gospel which, as a piece of interpretation, has a parallel in Mt. xxi. 2-4. In John xix. 23, 24 we are told what the soldiers did with the garments of Jesus. All but the tunic they divided into four parts according to the number of their band. For the tunic, however, they cast lots to see who should have it. And this act, says the writer, was done in order to fulfil the Scripture that reads:

> They divided my garments among them,
> And for my clothing they cast lots (Ps. xxii. 18).

We note here a departure from the record of the oldest Gospel, where the casting of lots was over all the garments and not merely over a part (Mk. xv. 24). Why this departure? Simply because the writer found in Ps. xxii.18, as he thought, a distinction between the manner in which the "vesture" was treated and that in which the "garments" were treated. He was either unacquainted with the nature of Hebrew poetry, where the second of two lines repeats the thought of the first with unessential modifications, or he consciously disregarded it in order to gain a striking "fulfilment." In either case he read into the Hebrew original what is not there, just as the author of Mt. xxi. 2-4 read into the poetic parallelism of Zech. ix. 9 a thought which the original does not contain. In both these instances we see a zeal in the interest of the fulfilment of Scripture, but a zeal without knowledge.

Before passing from the author's own references

to the Old Testament to those references and quotations which he puts on the lips of Jesus, we shall note briefly two passages attributed to others, one to John the Baptist and one to the Jews of Jerusalem.

When the religious authorities sent a commission to examine the credentials of the Baptist, and when they pressed him to confess what he thought of himself, he said: "I am a voice of one shouting in the desert. Straighten the Lord's way! as the prophet Isaiah said" (i. 23; Is. xl. 3). Now Mark, whom Matthew and Luke follow in this, saw in the forerunner of Jesus a fulfilment of this word of Isaiah, but they know nothing of a claim by the Baptist himself that he was the "voice" of Is. xl. 3. Had authentic tradition known of such a claim by the great forerunner, whom Jesus recognized as "more than a prophet," it is not likely that this claim would have appeared for the first time in the middle of the second century and in a Greek writer in the distant city of Ephesus.[3] This is too glaringly improbable to be worthy of a second thought, and especially when, as we have already seen, the writer who attributed this quotation to the Baptist did not hesitate to attribute to Jesus in iii.14, 15 an announcement which, in view of our historical sources, we must hold that Jesus did not make.

We turn to the other aforementioned passage. When Pilate told the Jews that he found no ground

[3] That this Gospel was written in Ephesus is the most probable view; that it was written as late as the second quarter of the second century is regarded as certain; and that it was written by a Greek seems to be favored by the available evidence.

on which to condemn Jesus, they replied as follows: "We have a law, and by our law he deserves death for declaring himself to be a son of God" (xix. 7). The law to which reference is here made is the law against blasphemy (Lev. xxiv.16), but in order that Jesus may appear obnoxious to that statute the claim to be God's "son" must be understood as in v. 18 and x. 33. This fact renders the passage interesting, for it shows how little regard the writer had for historical reality. The Jews of the time of Jesus are represented as using the words "son of God" in the very sense given to them by a philosophical author of a century later, a sense that would most certainly have been unintelligible to them and which is plainly foreign to the thought of Leviticus.

Moreover, the fact that the author of this Gospel assumed that the Jews of the time of Jesus used the term "son of God" in the sense in which he himself was using it implies of course that he read this meaning into Old Testament texts like Ps. ii. 7 where the Messianic King is styled God's "son." To do that, however, was to involve himself in no slight trouble, for if Jesus committed blasphemy in speaking of himself as God's "son," then the speaker in Ps. ii. 7 was also guilty of the same sin, for he declares that Jehovah had called him his "son." But since no one thought of charging the speaker in the Psalm with blasphemy, no more could Jesus be held guilty of this sin unless the term "son" was given the new and un-Jewish meaning which the word Logos has in the Fourth Gospel.

Here, then, we have an extreme instance of what would now be regarded as a wholly unjustifiable use of the Old Testament. The author carries back into the Hebrew Scriptures, not a clear and authentic New Testament teaching—an error sufficiently grave in itself—but he carries back thither a philosophical speculation which is of a distinctly Greek origin.

Such, then, was the manner in which the author of the Fourth Gospel handled the Old Testament. We shall now inquire how the Jesus of this Gospel used the Scriptures. This is a question whose importance for our total estimate of the nature and value of the Fourth Gospel cannot easily be overstated.

The author attributes to Jesus six direct quotations from the Old Testament, and these first claim our attention.

When the Jews in Capernaum murmured against Jesus because he said: "I am the bread that has come down out of heaven," he reproved their murmuring and then explained their unbelieving attitude toward him as due to the fact that they had not felt the "drawing" of the Father (vi. 41, 44). To this he adds: "In the prophets it is written, 'And all men will be taught by God'" (vi. 45). This is not an accurate quotation of Is. liv.13, either according to the Hebrew or according to the Greek translation, but it gives the leading thought of the prophet's words. He is describing the happy state of the people when they shall come back into their native land. Central in this new and blessed condition is the fact that Jehovah will

"teach" them. This is the "drawing" of the Father without which—Jesus is represented as saying—no one can come to him (vi. 44). The quotation is followed by these words: "Everyone who listens to the Father and learns from him will come to me" (vi. 45).

Looking at this quotation, and the use made of it, in the light which our primary sources throw upon Jesus' employment of the Old Testament in his teaching, we find it impossible to discover anything suggestive of his thought and method. Moreover, if the purpose of the quotation is to suggest that the failure of the Jews to believe in Jesus was due to their neglect of the prophets—here neglect of Is. liv.13 in particular—we should have to say that this view is without support in the first three Gospels; nor could we say less if the author of the Fourth Gospel attributes to Jesus the view that no one who really had faith in the Messianic parts of the Scripture could *fail* to come to him.

The Messianic element in the Old Testament appeared to the early Church as an open book, and to have questioned its application to Jesus would indeed have seemed like resisting the "drawing" of the Father; but this view of the Messianic element in the Scriptures was a gradual achievement and far removed from the thought of Jesus.

We pass to the second Old Testament quotation which the Fourth Gospel ascribes to Jesus. On the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when Jesus was teaching in the temple, he said in the course of his address: "If anyone is thirsty, let him come

to me and drink. If anyone believes in me, streams of living water, as the Scripture says, shall flow forth from his heart" (vii. 38). It is to be remarked here, in the first place, that the Scriptures do not contain these words or even this thought. A passage whose meaning is somewhat like that of this ostensible quotation is Is. lviii. 11, where we read: "Thou shalt be like a watered garden, whose waters fail not." In the Greek of the Seventy it is rendered: "Thy bones shall be as a drenched garden which the water has not left." Now obviously the fact that there *is* no such passage in the Old Testament as the author of the Fourth Gospel here puts on the lips of Jesus is unfavorable to the view that Jesus ever quoted it as Scripture. But that is not all which ought to be said. No less important as regards the question whether Jesus used the words is the fact that the "rivers of living water" are to flow forth from him who "believes" in Jesus. This thought is distinctly Johannean. There is not in the earlier Gospels a single passage in which Jesus clearly speaks of belief in himself. Certainly Jesus craved and sought trust in his message and in himself as the messenger, but in the historical documents concerning his life and words he is not once said to have spoken of "belief" in him. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, this thought, variously expressed, is on the lips of Jesus scores of times. This fact, then, is a second and most cogent ground for the conclusion that the quotation of John vii. 38 belongs not to Jesus but to the author.

According to the narrative of the Fourth Gospel

Jesus was in Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, and one day while he was teaching in Solomon's Porch the Jews pressed him for a plain answer to the question whether he was the Christ (x. 24). In his reply he is said to have used such language regarding his relation to God that the Jews were moved to stone him for blasphemy. They declared that he made himself God (x. 33). Jesus did not deny the charge, but proceeded to justify it from Scripture, and here we have the third quotation which the Fourth Gospel ascribes to him. It is from Ps. lxxxii. 6: "I said, Ye are Gods"; and Jesus based on this Scripture the following argument; If those to whom God's message was addressed were called "Gods"—and the Scripture cannot be set aside—do you mean to say to me, whom the Father has consecrated and made his messenger to the world, "You are blasphemous," because I said, "I am God's son" (x. 35, 36)? To put the argument in other words: if the author of the Psalm called men "Gods" because the word of God had come to them, surely the Jews ought not to charge Jesus with blasphemy because he had called God his "Father," for he, unlike the men of old addressed by the Psalmist, had been "consecrated" and sent into the world. If they were deified by the coming to them of God's word, then it was not blasphemous for him to claim as much who, instead of merely receiving the "word of God," that is, being exalted by the divine declaration itself, had been "consecrated" by the Father to a world-mission. In one case the justification of

the term was earthly and external; in the other it was internal and heavenly.

What now is to be said of this Scripture argument in view of what the earlier Gospels teach us of Jesus? We must say, I think, that he who refused to work a "sign" to convince men of the truth of his message, he whose method was always spiritual, who always spoke forth out of his experience of God, did not, on this occasion in Solomon's Colonnade, endeavor to justify his words with any kind of external evidence.

Further, it certainly is not in agreement with the way in which Jesus used the Old Testament, according to our oldest sources, to suppose that he would have said that the Scripture cannot be "broken." Rabbinic literalism might have spoken thus, but not the liberalism of Jesus.

We conclude, then, with confidence, that this quotation which is attributed to Jesus must be credited to the author of this Gospel. It is in his style, but wholly alien to the method of Jesus.

The next passage to be considered owes not a little of its interest to a parallel narrative in the synoptists.

It is the last evening and Jesus is sitting at the table with his disciples. According to John, Jesus alluded darkly to Judas in the course of the washing of the disciples' feet (xiii. 10). Later, when urging them to follow his example of lowly service, he alluded again to Judas, saying: "I do not mean all of you; I know whom I have chosen; but let the Scripture be fulfilled:

'He who is eating my bread
Has raised his heel against me' " (xiii.18).

These words are from Ps. xli. 9. Now in the oldest Gospel, when Jesus announced his betrayal, he said: "The Son of man is indeed to go away as the Scriptures say of him, but alas for the man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!" It is significant that he does not specify any passage of Scripture. We may suppose that the thought of his "going" had been impressed on his soul by pondering especially Second Isaiah and Jeremiah—not a single text but the implication of long passages—and it may have been also by pondering the personal experiences of Jeremiah and the Israel of the Captivity. This would have been wholly in keeping with his other meager allusions to a Messianic element in the Old Testament.

Then we note that, while in the oldest Gospel Jesus spoke of his death as being "according to what had been written," and while he uttered a stern word of warning and judgment on the traitor, the passage in John that deals with the same incident of the last evening not only adduces a specific text but also declares that the act of the betrayer was "in order to the fulfilment" of this specific text (xiii.18). In both points, then, this passage departs from the method of Jesus as contained in the earlier Gospels, and in both it accords with what we know of the development of interpretation in the early Church. The fathers of the second and third centuries found specific texts for all the details of the Messiah's career, and they did not doubt

that a divine necessity called for a literal fulfilment of each text.

In the intimate discourse of the last evening, after the departure of the traitor, Jesus in preparing his disciples for future trials spoke of his own bitter deception by his countrymen. He said they had hated him and had hated his Father. But he added that this had been predestinated, for his words are: "The saying of their Law, 'They hated me without cause,' must be fulfilled" (xv. 25).

This phrase "hating without a cause" is found in a prayer in Ps. xxxv.19, where it is a subordinate thought. The prayer is: "Neither let them wink with the eye that hate me without a cause." The Psalmist would have the rejoicing of his foes stopped. The phrase is found also in Ps. lxix.4 in a complaint which reads thus: "They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of my head." The complaint is caused by the great number of his enemies. We see, then, that what was a subordinate clause in both the Psalms is treated in John as though it had been an independent statement. This fact suggests a Christian who was searching the Old Testament for texts which might be applied to his narrative of the teaching of Jesus. The essential thought of the two passages in question is not regarded by the writer who makes the quotation.

It should not be overlooked that the personal "me" of this quotation which is put on the lips of Jesus is the speaker in each of the Psalms where the phrase is found, and that this same speaker is

the one who prays to Jehovah regarding his enemies, saying:

> Let their way be dark and slippery,
> And the angel of Jehovah pursuing them.
> . . . . . .
> Let destruction come upon him at unawares.
> . . . . . .
> Add iniquity unto their iniquity;
> And let them not come into thy righteousness.
> Let them be blotted out of the book of life.
> (Ps. xxxv. 6, 8; lxix. 27, 28.)

These imprecations are plainly alien to the spirit of Jesus, nor can we easily believe that he, at any time, however bitter and unmerited his trials may have been, would have found the thought of these Psalms so congenial that, either consciously or unconsciously, he could have applied their language to himself. We must not, disregarding the rest of the Psalm, pick a line here and there and call it Messianic, for that is to misrepresent the thought of the writer.

It may be noted in passing that the phrase "their Law" in the introduction to this quotation from the Psalms is doubly improbable on the lips of Jesus. First, it is improbable that he would have referred to the Psalms as "their *Law*," and in the second place it is improbable that he, a Jew, would have separated himself from his people as the speaker here does, saying "*their* Law." But that is the way the author habitually speaks (e.g. i. 19, ii. 6, iii. 1, iv. 9, etc.), as was natural for one of another race.

The last quotation which the author of the Fourth Gospel puts on the lips of Jesus is one of

the most significant and interesting. It is found in his account of the crucifixion. "After that, Jesus, knowing that everything was now finished, to fulfil the saying of Scripture, said, 'I am thirsty'" (xix. 28). The Scripture referred to is Ps. lxix. 22, though it is not cited literally. The verse reads:

> They gave me also gall for my food,
> And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

It is obvious that the one who cites this passage in the Fourth Gospel regarded the Psalm as Messianic and therefore as necessarily to be fulfilled by Jesus. For he says quite plainly that the words "I am thirsty" are spoken "in order to fulfil" the Scripture. Any suffering from real thirst is not to be thought of, from the writer's point of view. The only reason he sees for the utterance is that the Scripture might be fulfilled. But we are not so much concerned with the author's remarks as we are with the words attributed to Jesus, "I am thirsty." Have we valid reason to believe that he did thus speak on the cross? What do the primary sources of our information say?

The oldest Gospel, followed by Matthew, represents Jesus as having uttered words from Ps. xxii. 2: "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?" Which means, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mk. xv. 34). Some persons who heard the words but did not understand them thought that Jesus was invoking the help of Elijah because the Hebrew word which is rendered "my God" sounds like the Hebrew name "Elijah." Then some one put a sponge saturated with wine on a

reed, and "gave him to drink," apparently in the hope of prolonging his life until possibly Elijah would come to the rescue. Some popular legend concerning Elijah seems to be implied in this remark.

Now the point to be noted is that in the oldest Gospel the offering of drink to Jesus was occasioned by a misunderstanding of the Hebrew word meaning "my God," while in John's narrative it was occasioned by an intelligible utterance of Jesus, that he was thirsty. In both accounts the word of Jesus which, understood or misunderstood, occasioned the proffer of drink was uttered immediately before he expired. It is sufficiently obvious, therefore, that the narratives are at this point mutually exclusive. This being the case, we have to accept the view which the whole weight of historical evidence favors, and so to conclude that the occasion of offering drink to the expiring sufferer was not an expressed desire for it on his part. Therefore, this sixth and last quotation of Scripture by Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, like the preceding five, is to be unhestitatingly assigned to the author of the Gospel.

We pass on now from the direct quotations of Scripture which are ascribed to Jesus in the writing by John to his more numerous and not less important allusions to it and sayings concerning it. How are we to judge of these, and what light do they throw on our subject?

We begin with the word to Nicodemus: "Are you the teacher of Israel and yet ignorant of this?" (iii. 10)." Jesus had been speaking of a birth

"from above," and his words to Nicodemus imply that as a teacher of Israel he should have been acquainted with this doctrine. But we do not find in the Old Testament the doctrine of a birth "from above." If Jesus had found it there and had regarded it as absolutely fundamental, which is clearly implied in John, then it would surely be somewhat strange that there should be no trace of it in the Logia or in the oldest Gospel. Furthermore, the tone in which Jesus speaks to Nicodemus —a tone sarcastic and dogmatic—is altogether unlike that of the historical Jesus as he appears in the early Gospels.

More full and significant are the remarks regarding the Old Testament which are attributed to Jesus in a discussion with the Jews of Jerusalem (v.39, 40, 45-47). Here he credits his hearers with a diligent searching of the Scriptures, but says that this is fruitless because of a false view of the purpose of these writings. That purpose, he says, is not to give life by themselves but to point to the Messiah, who will give life. These writings in their entirety "witness" concerning him: that is what they are for. No other aim is here allowed. This thought of the Messianic character of the Old Testament—its clear, pervasive, and abiding value —reaches its climax in the concluding words ascribed to Jesus on this occasion: "If you really believed Moses, you would believe me, for it was about me that he wrote. But if you refuse to believe what he wrote, how are you ever to believe what I say?" Accordingly, it is necessary for the

Jews to accept what is said of Jesus in Moses if they are to believe the message of Jesus himself.

When we look at this comprehensive statement in the light of the earlier Gospels, two facts become obvious. In the first place, the view that Moses and the Scriptures in general "witness" of Jesus and point to him as the giver of life is without support in the teaching of Jesus himself, as we find this recorded in the Logia and our other historical sources. He saw foreshadowings of his ministry, and in particular of his sufferings, in the prophets, but these are few in number and are allusions rather than dogmatic statements. Not one of them, moreover, is from Moses. But here in John's narrative the Scriptures without limitation and Moses in particular are represented as "witnessing" of Jesus, and witnessing so plainly and fully that the Jews have no excuse for not "coming to him." They stand accused and as men without a love of God in their hearts.[4]

This belief that the Old Testament is through and through Messianic is clearly foreign to the teaching of Jesus in the earlier Gospels, but it was altogether common in the early Church. There can be no doubt where its affinities lie. Consider for a moment how remote it is from the historical teaching of Jesus. When he was once asked what a man should do to secure eternal life, he declared in Old Testament language that he should keep the commandments, and again that the two greatest of all commandments are to love God with all the heart and to love one's neighbor as one's self. In

[4] Note the contrast with Mt. xi.6.

profound harmony with these words are the stories of the Lost Son and the Merciful Samaritan. It is clear enough that Jesus regarded the teaching of the Old Testament as far broader than its Messianic element.

But again the emphasis which John here lays on the Messianic strain in the Scriptures marks a second departure from the teaching of Jesus as recorded in our early sources. This is the thought that if the Jews did not "believe the writings of Moses," that is to say, if they did not find there what would lead them directly and surely to Jesus, then they would not believe Jesus' own words. But what is that other than saying that the truth of Jesus' teaching is no more forcible than what Moses wrote concerning him? What is it but saying that the one and only way to the acceptance of Jesus by the Jews to whom he was speaking was through Moses? To put the point differently, we have here the implication that the truth of Jesus' message is not a self-evidencing truth. But Jesus himself believed that it was self-evidencing. The whole plan and method of his ministry, according to the historical records, rested on his belief that the message which he had from God carried in itself the evidence of its truth. He did not lean on Moses or on any external authority. He created in his first followers a willingness to accept him as the Christ *before* he had applied to himself any Old Testament word of Messianic import, and furthermore there is no evidence that his primary aim in a single one of his brief allusions to the Messianic Scriptures was to lead men to accept him as the

Messiah. He sought acceptance among men on no other ground than the intrinsic, self-evidencing truth of a message born out of his own experience of God.

Therefore we cannot escape the conclusion that the historical Jesus never uttered the words which are put on his lips in John v. 39, 40, 45-47. They belong in a realm of thought quite irreconcilable with his.

We pass to the next instance of the use of the Old Testament by Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel. The Pharisees had accused him of bearing witness concerning himself (viii.13). In his reply he is said to have shielded himself behind the statute of Deut. xix. 15: "One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth; at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall a matter be established." The statute clearly requires two witnesses, at least, in order to establish the truth of an accusation against a man that he has violated the law. A man shall not be held guilty of any iniquity on the strength of the evidence of one witness.

Two points are here to be considered. First, a detail of criminal law is applied in a purely ethical sphere—a detail intended to protect a man from unjust punishment in the social and civil relationships of life is appealed to for the establishment of Jesus' right to say of himself, "I am the light of the world" (viii.12). It is obvious that to use those words here is to divorce them from the original purpose of the statute.

Then, in the second place, though the speaker appeals to the statute in Deuteronomy, he does not heed it himself. For, plainly, the law requires two witnesses, two who bear testimony against the person who is alleged to be guilty. But in the use of the passage in John the two witnesses include the accused. Hence in the view of the law there is here only *one* witness, and the statute is flouted.

It is difficult to explain how even a Greek of the second century could have handled the statute of Dt. xix.15 in this manner, but it is quite impossible to believe that Jesus could have appealed to this Old Testament law in the circumstances narrated. For himself it was of course sufficient that God should witness for him; but his foes would not be likely to be convinced that he had a right to appeal to the statute of Dt. xix.15 when he counted himself as one of the two witnesses required.

At the close of the discussion from which we have just been quoting is another saying that is highly significant for our subject. The Jews had appealed to their descent from Abraham as the charter of their "freedom," and this led to a statement by Jesus of the contrast between their relation to Abraham and Abraham's relation to him. Here he is reported to have said, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad" (viii. 56). Now the Old Testament seems to be totally ignorant of the claim here advanced for Abraham. So far as our record of the patriarch is concerned we cannot say that he ever so much as dreamed of the Christ. It is only by a great audacity of "interpretation" that the thought of this text

has been discovered in the record. It is found, supposedly, in the statement that, when Abraham had been assured that Sarah should have a son, he "fell upon his face and laughed, and said in his heart, 'Shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah that is ninety years old bear?' " (Gen. xvii.17). It is not altogether plain that this "laugh" was one of joyful trust rather than of semi-humorous and derisive unbelief, but, granted that it was an expression of confidence and gladness, it would yet afford no basis for the assertion in John viii. 56, because, as we have seen, the Old Testament does not justify us in holding that the conception of a Messiah, which appears in the Prophets of the eighth century before Christ, ever entered the mind of Abraham who lived perhaps a thousand years earlier.

It is indeed probable that the remarkable claim of John viii. 56 is based on the laughter of Abraham (Gen. xvii.17). We are utterly at a loss to discover in the record of the patriarch any other statement that the author of the Fourth Gospel might have had in mind. Moreover, such an "interpretation" of the incident in Genesis is quite in accord with what we know of the way in which second century writers "interpreted" the Old Testament. But the decisive objection to the genuinesss of the words of John viii. 56 is the fact that their use of the Old Testament differs fundamentally from that of Jesus as preserved in the earlier Gospels. Jesus never allegorized the Scriptures, as is done here, and his references to its Messianic element were never, like this, conspicuous and dogmatic.

Some writers have thought that the Abraham who "rejoiced" to see the day of Christ was the spirit of the patriarch in Paradise, and that the rejoicing was contemporary with the appearance of Christ on earth. This view would naturally take the passage out of the class which we are considering, but it would scarcely make it easier to regard it as spoken by Jesus.

It remains to notice briefly one more reference to the Scriptures attributed to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. It is in xvii.12. Speaking of those who had been "given" to him, Jesus is reported to have said, in his prayer, "not one of them perished but the son of perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled." It is hardly true to the spirit of Jesus to suppose that he would have spoken of the traitor as having "perished," that is, of course, spiritually, while he was still living, for elsewhere he always assumed it to be possible for the worst of sinners to return to the Father. Again, it is improbable that Jesus associated the "perdition" of Judas with a passage of Scripture since we find in the Old Testament no word which seems to have any application to that fact. It is also to be noticed that in the earlier Gospels Jesus does not suggest that the fate of the traitor was contained in the Scriptures.

We see, therefore, in this passage another illustration of early Christian zeal in searching out correspondences between the life of Jesus and the Old Testament—a zeal that was not always careful to regard the facts of history.

We have now surveyed the data of the Fourth Gospel which bear on its interpretation of the Old

Testament. We have seen how its author handled the Scriptures; we have studied both the direct quotations which he ascribes to Jesus and also all the references to the Old Testament which Jesus is said to have made. The conclusions to be drawn from this investigation are inescapable. These conclusions are, first, that there is no difference between the author's estimate and use of the Old Testament and that which he ascribes to Jesus. The same must be said of the author's use of the Scriptures as compared with that of the Baptist and the Jews in general, as far as this latter appears in his writing. All look at the Old Testament with the same eyes; all interpret alike. What that means it is not difficult to see. It means simply that the writer attributes his own thoughts to others.

But, second, there is a broad and deep difference between the use of the Old Testament by Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel and his use of it as recorded in our earlier historical sources. This difference concerns the scope of the Old Testament as a whole, the character and importance of the Messianic element in Scripture, and the general method of interpretation.

According to the earlier Gospels Jesus regarded the Old Testament as showing the whole duty of man to lie in supreme love of God and a love of the neighbor like the love of self. This is the way to eternal life. But according to John, Jesus regarded the Old Testament as essentially Messianic and as life-giving only in so far as its Messianic element was accepted.

According to the earlier Gospels Jesus made few

llusions to an Old Testament element personal to fimself, and these were never presented as an integral part of his message, as are, for example, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. He regarded himself as the fulfiller of the hopes of his people, but surely not in the way they expected. According to John, on the other hand, Jesus read himself into the entire Hebrew Scriptures from Abraham and Moses onward through the Prophets and the Psalmists. Instead of occasional allusions to prophetic foreshadowings of his ministry and especially his fate, Jesus, according to John, presented belief in the Messianic element of the Old Testament as a vital dogma.

Again, the difference between the use of the Old Testament by Jesus according to the earlier Gospels and his use of it as pictured in John is a difference of interpretative method. Of course, it is not suggested here that there was a science of interpretation either when the Fourth Gospel was written or in the time of Jesus, yet men searched the Scriptures diligently and their methods were not the same. Jesus, according to the earlier Gospels, read the Scriptures historically—using this word in a broad sense and not as implying critical research; according to John he read them fancifully, allegorically, rather than historically. To state the difference in another manner, Jesus' use of the Old Testament, at least in its main features and important results, is in harmony with modern scholarship; John's use of it is not.

The third and last conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing study of the Fourth Gospel's repre-

sentation of the use of the Old Testament by Jesus is the obvious one that this representation cannot be accepted as historical. Every quotation of Scripture from the lips of Jesus was first placed there by the writer, and each of the sayings about the Old Testament which are ascribed to Jesus originated in the writer's mind. This conclusion, sweeping and important as it is, rests on perfectly solid grounds.

Of this method of literary procedure in itself, this ascribing of one's own thoughts to another, we do not purpose to speak further than simply to say that it was a method in common use for several centuries before the composition of the Fourth Gospel. It is not to be thought for an instant that a writer who made use of it did so to deceive. It was a recognized and allowable mode of authorship. It is probable that in many cases in early Christian literature this device was adopted by a writer in the hope that his words might have a greater influence if assigned to some well known leader of the past than if published in his own name. There is no reason to doubt that the writer of the Fourth Gospel believed he was thinking in harmony with Jesus when he represented him as saying this and that about the Old Testament or when he put on his lips certain words of Scripture. But whatever his private belief or aim may have been, the fact that he ascribes to Jesus certain views of his own is established on sure historical grounds.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The results that have been reached in our study of Jesus' use and estimate of the Old Testament may now be gathered up and briefly stated. By their side we will set the results of our study of the manner in which the writers of the Gospels, except the first, used the same Old Testament.

In the early collection of the sayings of Jesus, the Logia, we find all the essential features of his use of the Scriptures, though not all with all the fulness to be found in the other sources in combination. We find, first, a meager voluntary appeal to the Old Testament, and it is evident also that the involuntary appeal, that is, the references to it which are called out by others and which cannot be regarded as a purposed part of Jesus' own message to his disciples, is also very limited. At the same time, the appeal to an unwritten authority—the reason and the religious instinct of man—seems to be a constant part of his teaching.

A lofty estimate of the value of the Old Testament is variously implied in the Logia, as, for example, in the saying about the permanency of every least part of the Law and in the charge made against the scribes that they were neglecting the Old Testament teaching on judgment and the love of God.

Again, we find in the Logia a clear discrimination between the ceremonial and the moral teaching of the Old Testament, the former being subordinated to the latter.

Finally, the Logia also shows that Jesus found in the Old Testament something uniquely personal to himself, but his allusions to this element are always indirect and reserved. There is no open personal claim to be the fulfiller of any words of any one of the old prophets.

In the oldest Gospel, as in the Logia, Jesus makes only a slight voluntary use of the Old Testament. It is almost always in meeting criticisms or in answering questions that he cites Scripture. The religious and ethical standard of the Old Testament, at its highest, he makes his own. It is incarnate in his character and life. The old order of the Kingdom of God, which continued until John the Baptist, was not regarded as inferior to the new order in its basal standard of human duty. More clearly here than in the Logia does Jesus subordinate the ceremonial law to the ethical, apparently abolishing it, or at least one part of it, for his disciples. The fact is recognized here by Jesus that there are conflicting standards of social duties in the Old Testament, as in the case of divorce, and he therefore takes for granted that the exercise of reason is necessary in the interpretation of Scripture.

The appeal to reason and to the religious nature of man is here in striking contrast to the appeal to Scripture, and is more full than in the Logia, Mark's narrative being much longer than that collection. Recognition by Jesus of a Messianic ele-

ment in the Old Testament and the personal appropriation of that element to himself is more sharply brought out in Mark than in any words of the Logia. For it is in Mark's narrative that we have the one, only, open, and public claim to be the Messiah that is found in any of our historical sources. This is copied by Matthew and Luke. But with the exception of this one passage from the trial of Jesus before the highpriest, the allusions of a Messianic character in Mark are at one with those in the Logia in their avoidance of a direct personal claim. There are at least five of these allusions, three of which are found in private conversations with the disciples, and not one of the five is a direct personal claim. They all share the quality of the message of Jesus to the Baptist which, as we saw, was a challenge to faith.

In Matthew, that is, in the material which is peculiar to his narrative, there is nothing that throws new light on Jesus' estimate and use of the Old Testament. He adds to Mark's Old Testament quotations by Jesus, but his two additions do not increase our knowledge of the subject.

In Luke also, that is, in the material which is peculiar to his Gospel, there is no new light thrown on the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament. He has three quotations of Scripture by Jesus which no one else has. Of these only one has a special personal reference (xxii. 37), which, being a reference to his death, is parallel to the allusions in the oldest Gospel. The parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, though exalting Moses and the Prophets, does not in this particular go beyond the answer of

Jesus to the man who wanted to know the greatest commandment.

We may state these results more succinctly still, namely: (1) that Jesus found in the Old Testament two principles which were fundamental in his own life and teaching; (2) that he found great inequalities in the Old Testament which call for the exercise of judgment on the part of the reader; and (3) that he found his own death and the ultimate triumph of his cause foreshadowed in the Old Testament.

By the side of these results should be set the fact that Jesus—the initiator of a new order, the realizer of the Kingdom of God—spoke from the spirit and not by the book. There was little formal use of the Old Testament, but an almost constant appeal to man's reason and religious instinct.

We turn now to summarize the results of our study of the views which Matthew, Luke, and John held regarding the Old Testament, more especially in its relation to Jesus. Mark stands by himself, for, as we have pointed out, he has no comment on Jesus' use of the Old Testament or on its relation to him. But this is not the case with the others. Very conspicuous in the Gospel of Matthew is the writer's interest in the relation of Scripture to the life of Jesus. Of his ten instances of "fulfilment" all but one are linked with definite Old Testament texts, and each of the nine which concern Jesus refers to a separate fact in his life. This contrasts in a marked manner with the example of Jesus, for, in his personal application of Scripture, he alludes clearly to no specific text, if we except only

the words before the highpriest, the reference to his "rising," and Lk. xxii.37, and the only events in his career of which he saw foreshadowings in Scripture were his death with its suffering and his ultimate victory.

The second feature of Matthew's own material bearing on our subject is the fact that he, twice at least, attributes to Jesus sayings in regard to the Old Testament which contain thoughts of a later time.

This second feature of Matthew's Gospel is much more pronounced in Luke who, in two notable and important passages, attributes to Jesus words relating to his estimate of the Old Testament which it is impossible to regard otherwise than as the author's own.

When we pass on to the Fourth Gospel, whose origin was much later, we find this feature on every hand. In no less than ten passages, some of which are profoundly critical in the author's presentation of his view of the Gospel, language concerning the Old Testament or quotations from it are attributed to Jesus which we are compelled to regard simply as a part of the author's presentation. Hence in summarizing his views of the Old Testament we must include these passages. These views, briefly restated, are (1) that certain material things mentioned or used in the Old Testament contained predictions of Christ; (2) that prophetic utterances must by a divine necessity be literally accomplished; (3) that the prophets "saw" Christ and heard him speak; (4) that the Scriptures throughout—Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms—clearly witness to

Christ; and (5) that the term "Son" in the Old Testament, as applied to the Messiah, contains the meaning which the author of the Fourth Gospel gives to Logos.

It is apparent that this writer, in his views of the Old Testament, has but little in common with Matthew and Luke and nothing at all in common with Jesus. Matthew's interest in the "fulfilment" of the Old Testament in Jesus, and the ascription to Jesus by both Matthew and Luke of views regarding the Old Testament which arose after the time of Jesus, are both characteristic features of the Fourth Gospel, with this difference however; that now the author attributes to Jesus himself a keen interest in his own fulfilment of the Scriptures. With Jesus' own use of the Old Testament, as seen in our earliest historical documents—its sanity, simplicity, and reticence regarding the personal application of Messianic passages—the use attributed to him in John stands in bold and sweeping contrast.

Thus there lie before us in these documents that we have been considering two most significant gradations extending from the Logia to the Fourth Gospel, one a gradation in the character of the passages concerning the Scriptures which are ascribed to Jesus and the other a gradation in the number and nature of the Messianic words that Jesus is represented as applying to himself. In the Logia and in the original Gospel we find a number of quotations from the Old Testament by Jesus and a number of references and allusions to it, all of which are mutually consistent as well as easily defensible

as to their genuineness. But in the unique material of Matthew and again in that of Luke there are ascribed to Jesus some words regarding the Old Testament which bear the stamp of a later age. Finally, in the last Gospel, there are no quotations by Jesus from the Old Testament and no remarks concerning it by him which can be regarded otherwise than as integral parts of the author's own composition.

Again, in the Logia and in the original Gospel the allusions and references by Jesus to a Messianic element in the Old Testament are few and, with two or three exceptions, without connection with specific texts of Scripture. But in the unique material of Matthew and Luke, either in the words of the author (Matthew) or in words attributed to Jesus, references to the Messianic element in the Old Testament are both more numerous and are connected with specific parts of Scripture. Finally, in the Fourth Gospel, the references by Jesus to the Messianic element in Scripture are much more numerous still, they are open rather than allusive, and, what is perhaps even more important, they have a distinctly Johannean color, that is, the Hebrew conception of a Messiah becomes essentially Greek.

Thus we find in these documents, along both lines, a gradually increasing departure from Jesus' use of the Old Testament. The importance of this fact for a Christian view of the Scriptures is obvious. The Church has as yet made no very close approximation to Jesus' estimate or use of sacred writings. The modern scientific movement in Bible study has produced results more nearly in line with

the thought of Jesus than any results hitherto achieved. Hence we may hope that, as this movement pervades the Church, the Bible will come into its own in Christian life as the Old Testament came into its own in the life of Jesus. But the way to this goal will probably be long and weary. Since false principles of interpretation are entrenched in the New Testament itself, and since these principles have been accepted for centuries and have determined in no inconsiderable measure the creeds and theologies of the Church, it is difficult to look over and beyond them to the principles involved in the words of Jesus, and difficult to take an unprejudiced view of a movement which, like the work of Jeremiah, must pull down before it can build anew.

The historical study of the Bible, which began so gloriously in the last century, will never, we may believe, be overwhelmed and quenched by the tide of traditionalism, as was the first movement of this sort in the third and fourth centuries in Syria; but our interest in this great modern attempt to understand the Bible ought to be quickened and reënforced by the fact, so long overlooked, that the Founder of the Christian faith may be claimed as the pioneer of this movement, not indeed on its technical side, but as a reverent, truth-seeking, and rational movement. As such it has Jesus Christ on its side, whoever may be against it.

For all who regard Jesus as the supreme religious leader of men his estimate and use of the sacred writings of his people can never cease to be a subject of deep practical importance.

APPENDIX

OTHER NEW TESTAMENT DEPARTURES FROM JESUS' USE OF SCRIPTURE

I

PAUL AND HIS BIBLE

It is a wide gulf that separates Jesus and his greatest apostle in their estimate and use of the Old Testament. The departures from Jesus' view of the sacred writings of his people which are to be seen in the unique material of Matthew and Luke are less numerous and conspicuous than those found in the letters of the apostle to the Gentiles. We take up the presentation of the relation of Paul to his Bible with a deep sense of the inherent importance of the subject and with the feeling that it is a mine hitherto unexplored.

The facts show, I think, that the Church has followed Paul in its interpretation of the Old Testament and that modern biblical scholarship is as clearly in line with Jesus' estimate and use of the Scriptures as it is against that of Paul. There has been no more tragic event in all the course of the history of the Bible than the fact that the influence of Paul on the Church's interpretation of the Old Testament became dominant while the method and views of Jesus were unperceived.

Let us see whether the facts warrant this statement. We shall limit our study to those ten letters of Paul whose genuineness is commonly accepted. The results would not be greatly modified were we to limit it more narrowly, even to the four major epistles—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians.

A preliminary remark should be made regarding Paul's general use of his two sources, the Hebrew original and the Greek translation made in the third century B. C. When they differ, he sometimes follows one, and sometimes the other. Occasionally he departs from both. He must, therefore, have considered them together and have chosen deliberately between them. It would seem, then, that he could not have regarded either one as quite perfect. When his quotations depart from both the original Hebrew and the Greek version, the departure may sometimes have been due to quoting from memory, but it is very doubtful whether the departures are always to be accounted for in this manner. Some appear to have been made for a purpose. As to quoting from memory, it is of course highly improbable that Paul, when writing his letters, always had beside him a roll of the Law or of any part of the Old Testament, either in Hebrew or in Greek. The more, therefore, should we admire the facility and general accuracy with which he cited the sacred text.

What now were the characteristics of his interpretation? What was there in his reading of the Old Testament that was in conflict with Jesus' esti-

mate of it? What was there that deeply influenced the Church of later times?

There was, first of all, a literalism which at times entirely missed the historical sense of the passage in hand, that is, the obvious meaning of its author. This is what is meant here by literalistic interpretation. It is standing by the letter with little or no regard for anything else. Now, while this attitude might be precisely what a writer would desire in an interpreter in a certain case, it might also do the writer a great wrong. The words of any author, if they are to be understood, must be read in the light of the author's aim and with a knowledge of his use of language. The writers of the Bible are not exceptions to this rule. To disregard this fundamental principle of interpretation is always dangerous and often disastrous.

But was the great apostle ever a literalist? The answer to this question is not difficult, nor is it doubtful. Listen first to what he says on the relative dignity of the sexes. Man is "the image and glory of God," but woman is "the glory of man" (I Cor. xi.7). "The man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man" (I Cor. xi. 9). Whence come these sweeping assertions, so derogatory to woman? They are inferences from a literal reading of Gen. i., ii. It is said there that "man" was created "in the image of God," but it is not said of the woman, *in so many words,* that she was created in God's image (i.27). This is, however, clearly implied for the intelligent reader who is not seeking proof-texts, and it is implied in the very verse where "man" is said to be created in

God's image. But the fact that it is not explicitly affirmed was the determinative point for Paul.

Then the apostle says that the man was not created for the woman but the woman for the man. This assertion is based on the story in Gen. ii. "God said, it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpmeet for him" (ii.18). These words, taken literally, afford a certain basis for the apostle's statement of the inferiority of woman, but the passage as a whole, of which these words are a part, teaches rather her essential equality with man. She is a help "meet for him," and for her sake he is to leave even his father and mother, and the two are to be one (ii.24). Further, when one argues woman's inferiority to man from Gen. ii.21, 22, one has to ignore also the obvious teaching of Gen. i.27, which clearly implies essential equality. Paul was seeking a proof-text with which to check the forwardness of some Corinthian women, and he found it by a bare literalism. He appears to have discovered a certain support for his very positive belief regarding the subordination of woman in the statement of Gen. ii.24 concerning a man and his wife. For he saw in these words a mystical reference to Christ and the Church (Eph. v.31, 32). As the Church is unconditionally subject to Christ its Head, so must a wife be to her husband. Had not Paul believed that woman was by creation subordinate to man, he would hardly have spoken thus of the wife. One wonders whether, when working out his argument for woman's secondary rank according to creation, Paul sometimes had a vision of his

mother or thought of Miriam or of Huldah or of Mary of Nazareth.

Paul was a heroic evangelist and glorious martyr, but that fact does not justify the crude literalism with which he scants the God-given dignity of one-half of the human race.

Again, in his eloquent and poetic utterance on immortality Paul says that "the last enemy to be overthrown will be death," for "he put all things under his feet" (I Cor. xv. 26, 27). This seems to be an indirect quotation from Ps. viii. 6. The emphasis is on the word "all." Now the Psalmist does indeed say to God concerning man, "Thou hast put all things under his feet," but what did he mean by "all things"? The context makes his meaning perfectly plain. He meant all living things, as sheep and birds and fish of the sea. In other words, he meant that man is the head and crown of creation. It is then quite unwarranted to introduce the Psalmists words as a witness that "death," like sheep and oxen, is put in subjection under the feet of man. The Psalm has nothing whatever to do with the apostle's argument. To make its "all things" include death is to offend against a fundamental principal of all sound interpretation, viz. that an author's words shall be taken as nearly as possible in the sense in which he used them.

Paul labored "more abundantly" than all the other evangelists of his generation, but that fact should not blind our eyes to his faults as interpreter of the Scriptures.

A still more vital subject is introduced by the next illustration of the apostle's use of the Old

Testament. It is Gal. iii.13: "Christ ransomed us from the Law's curse by taking our curse upon himself (for the Scripture says, "Cursed be anyone who is hung on a tree")."*

Consider for a moment exactly what is written, to which the apostle refers: "If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is accursed of God" (Dt. xxi. 22, 23). But of whom is the legislator speaking? He is speaking of men who have committed sins worthy of death, as homicide and blasphemy. Their dead bodies are to be buried on the very day of their execution, for "he that is hanged is accursed of God."

It is true that Jesus was regarded by his foes as guilty of blasphemy (Mk. xiv.64), but the "blasphemy" contemplated by the Law (Lev. xxiv.16) was utterly different from that which the foes of Jesus laid to his charge.[1] The crime which the Law contemplated was taking the name of God in vain; the crime of which Jesus was held guilty was, in reality, no crime, for it was the claim to be the Messiah (Mk. xiv.62). To apply the words of this statute in Deuteronomy to Jesus is to ignore the scope of the statute. It is to stand by the letter rather than the purpose of the law-giver. Not only is the crime of which Jesus was accused unknown to the ancient legislator, but there is no ground for thinking that the legislator associated the curse of the God of Israel with the dead body of any man

[1] See p. 102.

who had not been legally found a criminal and worthy of death. Again, therefore, we must turn our backs on the obvious meaning of the statute if we are to allow its application to Jesus.

Paul was a devoted follower of Christ and for his sake suffered the loss of all things, but that fact ought not to be allowed to cover or condone the weakness of some of his exegesis.

We shall give one more illustration of false literalism. Paul is writing to the Churches of Galatia. In the course of his discussion of the covenant of promise and the covenant of law he says: "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken and to his seed. He saith not, 'And to seeds,' as of many; but as of one, 'And to thy seed,' which is Christ" (Gal. iii. 16). The simple word "seed" is in the singular number in Hebrew, but the thought is not. The Hebrew word like the English "seed" is a collective, and so may denote a multitude. That it does indeed signify the descendants of Abraham in their entirety in Gen. xiii.14-16, and not one individual descendant, is clearly evident from the context. Jehovah saith unto Abraham: "All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed forever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then may thy seed also be numbered."

The sense of the promise as a whole is not subject to the slightest doubt. The land is promised to the descendants of the patriarch without a suggestion of limitation; and those descendants who are to possess it will be a vast host. To interpret the words "to thy seed" as Paul did is therefore

doubly wrong; it is wrong in that it does not recognize that the word "seed" is a collective, and wrong also in that it goes against the plain sense of the context in Genesis.

But even this is not the entire indictment of the apostle's interpretation. He identifies the "seed" with Christ—the seed to whom, with Abraham, the land was promised. The fatal objection to this identification is the fact that nowhere in the five books of the Law or elsewhere in the Old Testament is there a claim that Abraham contemplated the coming of Christ. Hence if "seed" meant Christ, as Paul says, it would have been unintelligible to the patriarch, but we have no right to say that the promises of God are ever unintelligible. Again, if the "seed" is Christ, and the land was promised to him, what has become of the promise? On every side, therefore, Paul's interpretation of this passage of Genesis is seen to be invalid and impossible. Were it not *Paul's* interpretation, had it been put forth yesterday for the first time, no scholar would regard it at all seriously. It would be looked upon as a curiosity, the publication of which was unfortunate for its author. But the truth of an interpretation is independent of the fame and prestige of the interpreter, and even of his good works. Paul was indeed a master-builder of the early Church, whose light outshone that of the other apostles, but this fact only renders the literalism of some of his interpretations of the Old Testament the more dangerous. Who could count the preachers and theologians who have adopted and disseminated the results of such interpretations,

not testing them for themselves but blindly accepting them as true because they are in the Bible! Alas, that we have not followed the example of Jesus and have not used our reason in reading the Bible, but have built up around it a theory that tends to stifle reason and pervert the truth!

We pass to another characteristic of Paul's use of the Old Testament, which we shall call fancifulness. This feature is far removed from literalism. Literalism holds to the bare letter apart from the context; this ignores not only the context but also the letter. By fanciful interpretation we mean that which is loosed from all connection with the historical significance of a text, and which assigns to it a meaning as seems good to the interpreter. It is personal to him. Others may accept it if they accept him as an authority or if it pleases their fancy; but it has in itself no constraint of logic, of grammar, or of history—nothing, in short, that commends it as the probable meaning of the author of the words. Hence this sort of interpretation—which is indeed quite unworthy to be called "interpretation" since it has no vital relation to the text—is most changeful, and when it is applied to the Bible in the establishment of doctrine it is most unsatisfactory, if not positively pernicious.

But must it be laid to the charge of the great apostle that his interpretation of the Old Testament is ever fanciful? This question goes deeper and is more important than may at once appear, but the answer is not doubtful. We need only to study his words with open minds.

We may begin with "the muzzled ox" (I Cor.

ix.9, 10). The apostle is writing to his Corinthian converts and is defending himself and Barnabas against charges that touched their personal conduct as evangelists. One charge was that they took pay for their services. To this charge the apostle replied with proper warmth: "What soldier ever pays his expenses out of his own pay? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat any of the grapes? Who tends a flock and does not get any of the milk? Am I saying only what men say? Does not the Law say so too? For in the Law of Moses it reads, 'You shall not muzzle an ox that is treading out the grain.' Is it about oxen that God is concerned? Is he not clearly speaking in our interest? Of course this Law was written in our interest."

Accordingly, this Old Testament word (Deut. xxv. 4) was meant figuratively. The "ox" is a symbol of the Christian preacher, and leaving him unmuzzled when he treads the grain in the time of harvest is to teach that the Christian preacher is entitled to support. Moreover, according to Paul this word of the Law was clearly spoken for the sake of Christian preachers like Barnabas and himself.

Now we must obviously regard this interpretation as purely fanciful. The original plainly refers to a man's relation to his domestic animals and inculcates a merciful regard for them. There is no suggestion whatever that it should be understood figuratively. We might as well say with Philo, Paul's contemporary in Alexandria, that the various clean and unclean animals mentioned in the Law are so many symbols of different classes of

human beings. Paul ignores the original sense of the injunction regarding the ox, and puts in its place another meaning of his own coinage. But like other doughty defenders of their own views, he claims that his interpretation is clearly what God intended. The fact that he makes this appeal to the Law the climax of his argument shows that he regarded his interpretation of the ox-passage as perfectly obvious and convincing.

Take as another illustration of Paul's fancifulness in the interpretation of Scripture the famous treatment of the story of Abraham's two wives and two sons (Gal. iii.21-27). Sarah and Hagar, he says, are two "covenants." Hagar, the Egyptian handmaid, is "Mt. Sinai" and "answereth to the Jerusalem that now is." Sarah "answereth to the Jerusalem that is above," her "covenant" being one of promise. She, in contrast to Hagar, was "free," and consequently her "children"—among whom are Paul and his readers—are "free." This freedom is the goal of the apostle's thought, for he concludes thus: *"Wherefore,* brothers, we are not children of a handmaid but of a free woman." He calls his interpretation "allegorical," but plainly regarded it as an argument of unquestionable force. That is the serious point. He did not regard it as a harmless play of fancy—which it is—but as a valid conclusion from the sacred text. To regard it in this light requires, however, that we should close our eyes to the Old Testament narrative itself. For that is quite innocent of the subtle meaning here drawn from it or superimposed upon it. Sarah and Hagar are two women, one the wife and the other the concubine of Abraham. Neither the

patriarch nor the writer of Genesis nor the Old Testament in any part suggests that they had any symbolic significance. To regard them as two covenants and as corresponding to two cities, one earthly and one heavenly, and to regard their respective descendants as "bond" or "free," is plainly a fanciful treatment of the text. This is not interpretation, but romance, a product of Paul's imagination as truly as Milton's Eve is a product of Milton's imagination.

Thus the apostle in treating one historical passage of the Old Testament as an "allegory" admitted the principle of allegorical interpretation, and the Fathers properly appealed to his example in support of this method. The chief bane of Bible study for fifteen centuries was simply the application of the principle which we see in Paul's reading of the story of Sarah and Hagar.

Our next instance of Pauline exegesis shows how at times he suffused Old Testament narratives with a Christian meaning. It is the passage I Cor. x.1-4, wherein he deals with the story of Exodus, Chapters xiv, xvi, and xvii. It reads as follows: "I would not, brethren, have you ignorant that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual food; and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ."

This is all most interesting as giving us glimpses into the mind of the apostle, but all looks strange as we regard it from the standpoint of Moses and

the Israelites in the wilderness. What is it that Paul finds in that story of Exodus? He finds the Christian sacraments, or at least divine foregleams of them, and he finds Christ. For he says there was a "baptism" in the cloud and the sea, there was "spiritual food," there was "spiritual drink," and the "rock" from which this spiritual drink came—this was nothing less than "Christ."

We must say that the original story has no suggestion whatever of this subtle content. It does not intimate that the cloud and the passing through the sea contained a "baptism" unto Moses. Indeed, according to the narrative the Israelites were not in the cloud at all, but it was "behind" them, a sort of barrier between them and their pursuers; and when they passed through the sea they walked on dry ground. But while these details of the Old Testament story appear to be unfavorable to Paul's reading of it, this is not what we account of special importance. What we note in particular is that the idea of a "baptism" unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea is wholly foreign to the ancient text. There is no indication that Moses or the people had any such notion of the meaning of the event. Not less foreign to the text are the assertions that the Israelites ate "spiritual" food and drank "spiritual" drink. What they really had, according to the plain language of Exodus, was "manna," which, if kept over night, bred worms, and water that came out of a rock and quenched physical thirst. Neither the food nor the drink is there represented as "spiritual" or supernatural. Not less material was the "rock." Moses "smote" it, and

water came out. That this "rock" signified anything, or that it "followed" the Israelites—both these points are wholly strange to the narrative. A Jewish legend, of uncertain age, says that a rock yielding water rolled along behind the host, and Paul may have borrowed from this legend.

Most important of all these statements in I Cor. x.1-4 is the concluding one: "the rock was Christ." Now, whether the apostle meant that the "rock" was a supernatural manifestation of the heavenly Christ, which is perhaps favored by his statement that the water from it was "spiritual" drink, or merely that it was a figure or symbol of him, it must of course be admitted that Exodus saw no such meaning in it. The narrative is plain. The rock was simply a rock and nothing more, however we may account for the flow of water. Moses smote it, and when he left Rephidim the rock remained where it was before, as far as our text informs us.

And so we must regard this reading of the Exodus story as altogether fanciful, a child of Paul's own brain. Moreover, like every fanciful interpretation of Scripture, it confuses the historical sense of the text, which alone is of value, by reading into it what is not there.

A still more elaborate instance of this method of handling the Scriptures is furnished by Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. He takes up a striking episode in the career of Moses at the time when the tables of the Law were renewed. We read that when Moses came down from Mt. Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in his hand

his face shone, but he knew it not (Ex. xxxiv.29). Then it is related that Aaron and the children of Israel feared to come near to Moses, but afterward, when he called, they did draw nigh, and when he had spoken with them he put a veil on his face. When he went into the tabernacle to speak with Jehovah, he removed the veil, but when he came out he put it on again (Ex. xxxiv.30-35). The reason why his face shone as he came down from the Mount where he had spent forty days and forty nights was that Jehovah had spoken with him (vs. 29). That is the whole story of the veil and the shining face.

Consider now what Paul made out of it. "If the religion of death, carved in letters of stone, was ushered in with such splendor, so that the Israelites could not look at Moses' face on account of the brightness that was fading from it, why should not the religion of the Spirit be attended with much greater splendor? . . . So since I have such a hope, I speak with great frankness, not like Moses, who used to wear a veil over his face, to keep the Israelites from gazing at the fading of the splendor from it. Their minds were dulled. For to this day, that same veil remains unlifted, when they read the old agreement, for only through union with Christ is it removed. Why, to this day, a veil hangs over their minds, whenever Moses is read, but whenever a man turns to the Lord, the veil is removed" (II Cor. iii.7, 8, 12-16).

The narrative in Exodus does not tell us why Moses put a veil over his face. If it gives any suggestion of the reason, it is in the statement that

the people were afraid to come near to Moses. But Paul goes quite beyond the text and tells us that Moses put a veil over his face "to keep the Israelites from gazing at the fading of the splendor from it." But what was the secret meaning of the "splendor," that its passing away should be zealously guarded from the gaze of the people? Paul says, in effect, that it was the glory or splendor of the Law, which had been brought down from the mountain. But this idea of the meaning of the splendor is entirely foreign to the text of Exodus. That explains the light on the face of Moses as a result of his communing with Jehovah. It is not regarded as a symbol of the Law, or a symbol of anything. But now, if the text of Exodus forbids our putting the thought of the Law into the "splendor" on the face of Moses, then clearly we have no ground whatever for saying that the *passing* of the splendor from his face meant the passing of the Law. It should be noted that the passing away of the splendor is not to be found in the Hebrew text at all. Paul adds this feature to the story, and then interprets it.

We are compelled to say, therefore, that the simple sense of the story of the shining face and the veil is wholly lost in the apostle's elaborate discussion. He does not unfold the text, but rather folds into it the main thoughts which he himself seems to bring out of it.

It may be added in conclusion that it seems a pure assumption to say that Moses regarded his legislation as temporary. This thought flows from another and still greater assumption, viz. that

Moses expected Christ and considered his own mission in the light of the Coming One.

As we are seeking light on Paul's estimate of the Old Testament, we will not leave this passage without noting one more point. It is the comprehensive statement that Israel from the time of Moses to Paul's present had been "veiled," or, dropping this figure, that Israel had not understood the writings of "the old covenant," to which is added another comprehensive statement that whenever Israel turns to Christ it does understand these writings. The "veil" is taken away. What does this mean for our view of Paul as an interpreter of the Old Testament? It means that he regarded Christ as the key to the understanding of the Scriptures. Now, while the leaders in the early Church might be numerously cited in support of this view, the Jewish people since Paul's day have not found this "key" essential to a profitable understanding of the Old Testament; and the Church of the present day, as far at least as it is in accord with historical Bible study, would by no means endorse Paul's thought. Understanding of the Law as a historical product and freedom from the Law as an authority controlling the personal life are widely different things. And while a Jew who accepts Christ may feel that he is through with the Law, it is not equally clear that a Jew who does not accept Christ may not have a sound and fruitful understanding of the Law. Jewish Old Testament scholarship of the present day, as of the past, furnishes abundant proof of such understanding.

To make the understanding of the Old Testa-

ment depend on the acceptance of Christ seems to imply that Paul, like the author of the Fourth Gospel, regarded the entire Scriptures as Messianic, but this view is shattered by the clear teaching of Jesus.

Typical in several respects is Paul's handling of the Old Testament in Eph. iv.8-10. First, he applies Ps. lxviii. 18 to Christ, while its author referred to Jehovah. Second, he departs from both the Hebrew text and the Greek version in his citation of the second line. He alters it to fit its application to his present thought. But he gives his readers no hint of this alteration. Third—and this is peculiarly Pauline—he conjures with the word "ascend." He quotes the Psalm as follows:

> When he ascended on high, he led captivity captive,
> And gave gifts unto men.

Then he continues: "Now this, 'he ascended,' what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things." Of course he has Jesus and his ascension in mind. He argues that the very word "ascended" implies a previous descent, and that not a descent to the earth merely but to the lower parts of the earth, that is, Hades. So the word "ascended" includes the resurrection. Thus, starting from the word of the Psalm which referred to Jehovah's going up as a victor to Mt. Zion, there to receive the homage of men, Paul diverts the word into a new channel and expands it until it covers the descent of Christ from heaven, his

going down at death into the lower world, his resurrection, and ascension. We are compelled to say that this use of the text is fanciful in the extreme. It is in the same class with the interpretations of Philo. The simple historical meaning of the text is lost in a cloud of mysticism.

We shall consider but one more illustration of Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament. This has perhaps had a more far-reaching theological influence, direct and indirect, than any other utterance of the apostle.

The röle which Adam has played in Christian thought is not due to Genesis, nor to Jesus, but to Paul. In his most carefully written letter—that to the Romans—occurs his most elaborate and comprehensive theological generalization (v.12-21). The elements of this are found also in an earlier letter, in its great passage on immortality (I Cor. xv.22, 45). Here we read: "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive"; and, "The first man Adam became a living soul. The last Adam became a life-giving spirit." The familiar passage in Romans is an elaboration of the parallel which Paul saw between Adam and Christ. We will cite it in Goodspeed's translation:

"It is just like the way in which through one man sin came into the world, and death followed sin, and so death spread to all men, because all men sinned. It is true, sin was in the world before the Law was given, and men are not charged with sin where there is no law. Still death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned as Adam had, in the face of an express command. So

Adam foreshadowed the one who was to come. But there is no comparison between God's gift and that offense. For if one man's offense made the mass of mankind die, God's mercy and his gift given through the favor of the one man Jesus Christ have far more powerfully affected mankind. Nor is there any comparison between the gift and the effects of that one man's sin. That sentence arose from the act of one man and was for condemnation; but God's gift arose out of many offenses and results in acquittal. For if that one man's offense made death reign through that one man, all the more will those who receive God's overflowing mercy and his gift of uprightness live and reign through the one individual Jesus Christ.

So as one offense meant condemnation for all men, just so one righteous act means acquittal and life for all men. For just as that one man's disobedience made the mass of mankind sinners, so this one's obedience will make the mass of them upright. Then law slipped in, and multiplied the offense. But greatly as sin multiplied, God's mercy has far surpassed it, so that just as sin had reigned through death, mercy might reign through uprightness and bring eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

This is perhaps the most difficult passage of its length in the New Testament, yet in spite of that fact—or perhaps because of it—it has furnished the corner stones of some important dogmas. We are now concerned with only one aspect of it, viz. its relation to the Old Testament. Wherein are we justified in regarding it as an illustration of what we have called "fanciful" interpretation?

First, we observe that it goes beyond those Old Testament texts on which the parallelism is based. It goes beyond the text in the statement that "in Adam all die" (I Cor. xv.22; Rom. v.12). The Genesis text says only that the man placed in Eden was threatened with death should he eat of the tree of the Knowledge of good and evil (ii.17). There is no intimation that his disobedience, if he does disobey, is to affect any other being. The man addressed is, at the time, alone in the world, according to the narrative.

Then, after woman has appeared on the scene occurs the disobedience which had been threatened with death. A third factor, called the "serpent," has participated in the tragedy. The trial of all three takes place promptly at the close of the day on which the command was transgressed. The serpent is tried and sentenced; the woman is tried and sentenced; and finally the man is tried and sentenced. But there is no death penalty, not even for the serpent. The man who had been threatened with death gets a sentence of hard labor for life (iii.17-19). The writer of Genesis shows no interest in the question why the threat of death was not carried out to the letter; he simply records the fact. We need not seek an answer. With the account of the trial and the penalties the incident closes. There is nowhere in the narrative an intimation that any one suffers except the three who had done wrong—the serpent, the woman, and the man. We go beyond the text, and indeed out of sight of the text, when we say that "in Adam all die."

Again, the interpreter goes beyond his text when

he says that "through one man sin entered into the world and death through sin." For the text of the ancient narrative—which for Paul's sake we are assuming to be history and not a story—records that the man and his wife disobeyed, and it stops there. The apostle adds two momentous affirmations. One of them is that through one man "sin entered into the world," that is, passed beyond Adam, infecting all his descendants. But of this philosophical theory the text has no trace whatever, and it is only as related to the Genesis text that we are concerned with it. Something may be said in its support, something may be said against it. The truth or falsity of the theory is not now in question. The point noted is that the interpreter went beyond his text when he said that sin entered "into the world" through one man.

The other affirmation referred to above is that, when sin entered into the world, "death" also entered. This too is theoretical. According to Gen. iii.17-19 Adam's penalty was not death, but hard labor for life. His ultimate return to the dust is there attributed to his mortal nature, *not* to his disobedience. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." No other reason for Adam's physical death is suggested. Therefore we say that the interpreter departed here from his text.

In leaving this instance of Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament we may remark that his designation of Adam as a type or figure of Christ (Rom. v. 14) and his designation of Christ as "the

last Adam" (I Cor. xv.45) require other grounds of fitness than are furnished by the story of Adam in Genesis.

The instances of fanciful exegesis in the writings of the great apostle which have been given may suffice.

We have seen that he was at times a literalist and at times a theorizer; that he sometimes clung to the bare letter unmindful of the context and sometimes left both context and letter far behind. We do not regard this as strange. The day of scientific literary study was as yet far distant in the future. Paul's handling of the Old Testament was much more sane than was that of his famous contemporary, Philo of Alexandria. It was also far more sane than was that of most of the leaders of the early Church. He held, indeed, false principles of interpretation, as the allegorical principle, but his application of these principles was less common than, for example, in Origen or Augustine. What gives immeasurable significance to Paul's interpretation is the fact that his letters became a part of the New Testament. There his interpretations stand apart, commended by the enormous prestige and authority of the Book.

It is not strange, we say, that Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament was wrong in part, but it is most tragical that his example as an interpreter rather than that of Jesus became a guiding star for the Church through many centuries. The example of Jesus in this matter has remained without appreciable influence to this day, but that of Paul, both in its principles and by specific instances, has

ever exerted and still exerts a wide and deep influence. "Tragical," for, as we have shown, the use of the Old Testament by Jesus is at no time open to the charge of literalism or to the charge of fancifulness. It stands out in contrast with Paul's interpretation as conspicuously as the modern historical interpretation does with that of Jerome or Justin Martyr.

In concluding this study of Paul's use of the Old Testament we shall speak briefly of one point that is quite independent of his method of interpretation. This is the striking fact that, while the Founder of Christianity made but little voluntary appeal to the Old Testament, Paul, its foremost exponent, rests upon it habitually. He draws from it in his social teaching, as in what he says of the relation of the sexes and the dress of women; he draws from it in his ethical teaching, as in his discussion of the believer's relation to an external law; and he draws from it in his theological teaching, as in the doctrines of election and God's sovereignty. What is still more remarkable, he draws from the Old Testament repeatedly and variously in his presentation of Christ and his work. Thus he says the promises were made to Abraham and to "his seed," which is Christ; the water-giving rock in the wilderness was Christ; the Law teaches that Christ was made a curse; the Law and the Prophets teach that righteousness is through faith in Christ; the Psalms teach that the coming Messiah was not to please himself, and that when he should ascend on high he would give gifts to men; and, finally, that the

Scriptures teach that Christ died for our sins and that he was raised on the third day.

But this large and varied use of the Old Testament becomes still more striking when we consider that Paul does not once quote from the teaching of Jesus in all his letters. He refers three times to "the word of the Lord" and once to the "word of Christ," but without quoting (I Thess. i.8, iv.15; II Thess. iii.1; Col. iii.16). This fact is not explained by saying that our Gospels were not written till Paul's work was done, for the collection of the sayings of Jesus called Logia may well have been made before Paul began to write his letters, but in any case the story of Jesus' life and teaching was everywhere in circulation among the disciples.

One probable ground for Paul's comparatively slight use of the words of Jesus is the fact that he found Christ and so much of his teaching in the Old Testament. If he discovered this teaching there, what need of gleaning the words of the earthly Jesus from his scattered followers? And would not that which he could draw from the Old Testament come with the added force of antiquity and predictive prophecy? But however we account for the fact—there it is; and something much like it is seen in the early Church, where relatively little space is given to the words of Jesus about himself and much to the Old Testament prophecies concerning him. This seems to us now a dire catastrophe, for we believe in Jesus because of what he was, what he did and taught, rather than because the great prophets of Israel had visions of a coming Deliverer, some of which seemed to be

realized in Jesus. We believe that he was greater than any seer's vision and that the Kingdom of God as he conceived it was something more divine than man had ever imagined it to be. So we cannot but feel that it was a vast loss to the world that Paul did not base his teaching broadly and explicitly on the words of Jesus, especially Jesus' words regarding himself and regarding God. For, surely, to know Jesus and to follow him intelligently no assistance is for an instant to be compared with his own words and the simple facts of his life.

II

HEBREWS—THE CLASSIC IN THE REALM OF NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

We call Hebrews the "classic" example in the realm of New Testament interpretation of the Old Testament first, because, it moves amid Old Testament institutions and characters more extensively and intimately than any other New Testament writing; second, because it "allegorizes" the Old Testament far beyond what is found elsewhere in the New Testament; and, third, because it erects on an Old Testament basis, by means of its method of exegesis, a conception of Christ's activity past and future which is highly and consistently elaborated. Taken as a whole and compared with any other single writing, Hebrews is the classic interpretation of its kind not only in the New Testament, but also in Christian literature. Its leading conception is more closely and fittingly wrought out than is any single conception in Philo or Origen. It is obvious that, being in the Bible, its influence as an example of the interpretation of the Old Testament has far surpassed that of any other Christian allegorist, not excepting even the famous Alexandrian of the third century. It is also evident to anyone who studies this classical interpretation of the Old Testament

in the light of Jesus' estimate and use of the same writings that his departure from Jesus is most impressive not only in its variety, but also in its depth. This departure is worthy of serious thought by all who read Hebrews or care for Jesus.

Though the allegorical or purely speculative element in the interpretation of the Old Testament by the author of Hebrews is its most commanding feature, there are three others of importance, and these we shall consider first.

As we have already found in the study of Paul as an interpreter, so also we find in Hebrews some notable instances of literalism. Thus, first, the author reads the phrase "all things" in Ps. viii.6 as the apostle had done, though his literalism is even more absolute (Heb. ii. 8). For Paul inferred that the "all things" which are subject to man include "death," while Hebrews says that there was "nothing" which was not subjected. Thus his thought sweeps out beyond the horizon of the Psalmist, who spoke simply of a man as the head of the animal creation, and embraces everything that in any wise checks the realization of the whole purpose of redemption through Jesus. Thus he takes the language in a sense quite foreign to the thought of the Psalmist, though he takes it literally.[1]

Another phase of literalism is seen in Heb. vii. 9, 10. The greatness of Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem, is being set forth. The patriarch Abraham gave him a tenth of the spoil which he had brought back from the defeated kings of the

[1] We refer only to the phrase "all things." The application of the verse to Jesus is of course not literalism, but this is not now in view.

East (Gen. xiv. 18-20). Now, since Abraham was the head of the line in which, later, the Levitical priesthood was included, the author of Hebrews infers that what he did for Melchizedek the Levitical priests also did, since they were "in his loins" at that time. This interpretation we call literalism, though of a material sort. As a proof that the Levitical priesthood was inferior to that of Melchizedek, it seems anything but conclusive. The method, moreover, might easily be turned against the author. If Levi was in the loins of his father Abraham, so also was Jesus, another descendant of Abraham, but obviously it would not suit the argument of Hebrews to represent Jesus as subordinate to Melchizedek. The story in Genesis tells us that Abraham showed signal honor to Melchizedek, but to make the Levitical priesthood of later centuries share in this act is to put a heavy strain on the fact of physical descent. Had Abraham been a priest and the head of a continuous priestly line running down through Levi and his descendants, the author's inference would have had at least the appearance of force.

Yet one more illustration of literalism in the interpreter's use of the Old Testament. This is of another type. Melchizedek, we read in Heb. vii.3, was "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God." We do not suppose that the author of Hebrews actually believed these statements about Melchizedek to be historical, for that would be taking Melchizedek quite out of the ranks of humanity and transform-

ing him into a supernatural being. What then did he mean? He simply took the *silence* of Genesis in regard to Melchizedek's genealogy as a mystical fact, a real and important part of the divine revelation. We may properly call this "literalism," inasmuch as the fact of silence is taken up by itself, quite apart from what we may call its context, viz. the circumstances that it is in a human document and concerns a human being. It is taken by itself and treated as a sort of wonder-box. Out of it is drawn the statement that Melchizedek abides a priest continually, which is important for the writer's argument. The character and value of this sort of literalism in an interpreter of the Bible is easily seen. If every silence of Scripture is fraught with meaning, then its plainest teaching may easily be overthrown.

Another feature of our author's interpretation of the Old Testament, which also departs from the method of Jesus, may be called dogmatism. We mean by this an interpretation that is assertive without obvious grounds, which carries only as much weight as the name of the interpreter, and which at the same time is not of the allegorical or typical sort. We include also under this head those interpretations which appear to have been due to some doctrine previously held by the interpreter, especially some important doctrine. It will appear as we proceed that the instances of this type of interpretation form a group by themselves, though not wholly distinct either from the preceding or the following.

In comparing Abraham with Melchizedek, from

whom he had received a blessing, the author of Hebrews states as something beyond dispute—and uses the statement as a link in his argument—that "the less is blessed of the better (vii.7). This statement, however, is not a self-evident truth. It was customary among the Hebrews for the older to "bless" the younger, but it is not obvious, or indeed likely, that the older is always "better" than the younger. There is no apparent reason why two men of equally pronounced "goodness" and of the same age should not invoke Jehovah's blessing upon each other, and we know of nothing in the Old Testament that is adverse to this supposition. It is not only not self-evident that "the less is blessed of the better," but there is no ground whatever in the text for the assumption that Melchizedek was any "better" than Abraham, even as there is no ground for thinking him older or greater in power. This link, therefore, in the author's argument for the preeminence of Melchizedek seems to be without strength. The interpretation is what we may call dogmatic.

Again, in the course of the same argument we read, "the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law" (vii.12). He is speaking here of the change from the priesthood of Levi to that of Christ. His point of difference between the two is that one is temporary, the other permanent. But this difference appears to be superficial, and it is not clear why it should render a change of the law necessary. It would rather seem to be obvious that the law is the fundamental fact and that the duration of its executors

is incidental. The author advances no support for his inference, that the law is of necessity changed when there is a change of the priesthood. But since the necessity of the change is not self-evident, and since it appears rather contrary to reason, we call the interpretation dogmatic. It is perhaps dogmatic in another sense, viz. in this, that the general argument of the writer made it desirable to show that the law of the new priesthood was different from that of the old (vii.16). It is of course a matter of common knowledge that our settled beliefs may easily, even unconsciously, affect our interpretation of the Scriptures.

Yet once more in the same argument regarding the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood it is asserted that the priesthood of Jesus is superior to that of the Levitical priests by reason of the oath in Ps. cx.4:

> The Lord hath sworn and will not repent,
> Thou art a priest forever
> After the order of Melchizedek.

While an oath is mentioned here, Aaron and his sons were made priests without an oath. The author of Hebrews regards this fact as vastly significant. But when speaking of God do we count his word more trustworthy when accompanied with an "oath" than when spoken without it? Can it be regarded as self-evident that a priesthood introduced with an oath is higher than one which is not so introduced? Does the fact of the oath have any significance at all with regard to the permanency of the priesthood? Apparently not, for the Scrip-

tures declare that the consecration of Aaron's sons, which was without an oath, was "for an *everlasting* priesthood" (Ex. xl.15). The simple absence of an oath in the narrative of Exodus is no more to be exploited by an interpreter than is the absence of any family details in the brief reference to Melchizedek in Genesis. Aaron and his sons were solemnly consecrated to the priesthood at the command of God, and the Old Testament affords no warrant for the view that an oath would have altered in any wise the quality or scope of this command.

We pass on to another comprehensive illustration of the dogmatic element in the interpretation of the Old Testament by the author of Hebrews. It is that the death of Jesus has taken place "for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant" (ix.15). This is not the main statement of the verse, but is explanatory of it. According to this statement the merit of Christ's death is retroactive. In the following chapter of Hebrews we learn the probable reason why the author attributed this unique value to the death of Christ. This reason is his belief that the ancient ritual of sacrifice did not secure the remission of sins. But, in that case, the chosen people of past ages must have had deliverance from some other source, for the author of Hebrews does not think of them as lost; and that source must have been the merit of Christ's death, for the author knows of no other source of remission. This conviction regarding the ancient ritual of sacrifice seems to have had two grounds in the mind of the author,

viz. the fact that the offerings were continually repeated (x.1) and—what he seems to have regarded as a self-evident truth—the impossibility that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin (x.4). Touching this last statement, we ask whether it is indeed self-evident that "the blood of bulls and goats," as used in the Old Testament ritual and believed to be a part of the acceptable service of Jehovah, could not secure the pardon of sins? By itself, doubtless, this blood could not take away sin, even as the blood of Jesus, by itself, cannot take away sin, but there would appear to be no greater inherent difficulty in the one case than in the other. The author's statement that it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sin is made with his eye on the Old Testament ritual, but it is by no means self-evident that, under the conditions in which the blood was offered, men did not obtain assurance of pardon. We think it quite demonstrable that they did.

The other of the two grounds of the author's belief that remission of sins was not secured under the first covenant was the fact that the offerings were continually repeated. But, obviously, the repetition of sacrificial offerings, whether those that were made daily or those which were presented but once in a year, while it might imply a repeated *need* on the part of the worshippers, is no proof that it was not, at the time, efficacious.

Since now the grounds of the author's belief that the ancient ritual of sacrifice did not secure the pardon of sin are invalid, his view that the merit of the death of Jesus was retroactive, for which

he offers no other explanation or support, must be regarded as a clear instance of the dogmatic element in his interpretation.

Another characteristic of the interpretation of the Old Testament by the author of Hebrews is what we have seen in Paul and in the author of the Fourth Gospel, though less pervasive there than here. It is reading Christ and Christian sentiments back into the Old Testament. This, too, is a serious matter in an interpretation, since it nullifies the divine law of development which holds in all religious history as elsewhere. It makes an historical understanding of the Old Testament impossible and at the same time blurs the meaning of the New Testament, especially the significance of Jesus and his Gospel. This feature of Hebrews is conspicuous.

In the first place, the author sees Christ in the Old Testament. We do not refer in this statement to the Messianic prophecies, for the author makes almost no reference to these. We refer to his representation that Christ is the speaker in various parts of the Old Testament, or is addressed by God there as present. It is not necessary to dwell on this point. The author is here at one with John, for though he does not call Christ the "Logos," or explicitly identify them, he shares the essential belief (e.g. i.2-3). Therefore, since he thought of Christ as existing from the beginning, it was easy to suppose that he was personally addressed in the Old Testament, as in Ps. ii.7, xlv.6, 7, cii.25-27, cxvi.4, and also that he was sometimes the speaker

as in Ps. xxii.22; Is. viii.17, 18, and Jer. xxxi. 31-34.

This discovery of Christ in the Old Testament is not from the Old Testament itself, neither is it derived from any words of the historical Jesus. It comes from the early Christian speculation on the relation of Christ to God and to the universe, which speculation in turn was doubtless largely indebted to Philo and Greek philosophy.

Let us consider for a moment how the author of Hebrews transfers his Christian sentiments to Old Testament characters and acts.

We read in Gen. iv. 4 that God had respect unto Abel and his gift, and the author of Hebrews infers that the reason why Abel's sacrifice was accepted was "faith," and he adds also from his Christian point of view that Abel had witness borne to him that he was "righteous" (xi.4). We read again that Enoch walked with God (Gen. v.22) and that he "was not," for God took him. This is presented in Hebrews with Christian additions (xi. 5, 6). It was "faith," we are told, that led to Enoch's translation,' and he had witness borne to him that he was "well-pleasing" to God. Abraham, who had a promise of Canaan but did not live to see it fully realized, though he dwelt there as a great sheik, very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold (Gen. xii.7), was, according to Hebrews, "looking for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (xi.10). Sarah is said to have become a mother by faith, though in the Old Testament she is not only *not* said to have had faith in the promise of a child, but *is* there said

to have been decidedly skeptical (Gen. xviii.15).

All these ancient worthies from Abel to Sarah are said in Hebrews to have confessed that they were "strangers and pilgrims on earth" and desirous of a "heavenly country" (xi.13, 16). But one gets no hint whatever of such a longing on their part from the narrative of the Old Testament. The author of Hebrews simply attributes to them the sentiments of Christians of his time (see xiii.14).

In the same manner he deals with Moses. He is represented as preferring "the reproach of the Christ" to the treasures of Egypt (xi.26). But to speak thus is to ignore the fact that according to the story of Moses he had no anticipation of the Christ. He is said to have looked for a prophet like unto himself (Dt. xviii.15), but it is difficult to carry that description over to Jesus. According to Exodus Moses fled from Egypt to save his life, for Pharaoh sought to slay him (ii.15). The author of Hebrews tells us that Moses did not fear the wrath of the King and that his flight was an act of "faith." [1] Thus have many biographers dealt with their heroes.

But the point here in mind is not that the author of Hebrews glorifies Moses, but that he makes him a Christian. This is to lose the perspective of fourteen centuries.

Such are some of the instances in which the author of Hebrews represents the ancient people of God as acquainted with Christ and acting from Christian motives.

[1] Ex. xii. 32, 33 is proof that the passage in Hebrews does not refer to the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt.

We come now to that treatment of the Old Testament which is called allegorical. This is highly interesting both in itself and because it is the first elaborate example of this kind of interpretation in Christian history.

The theme of Hebrews is the highpriesthood of Jesus, and all the passages which we call allegorical concern that theme. If one prefers to call them or a part of them "typical," it matters not. We shall try to see how the author proceeds in his interpretation and what he means, however we may designate his method.

The foundation of the author's doctrine consists of three lines in the 110th Psalm and three verses in Gen. (xiv.18-20). This Psalm had long been regarded as Messianic. The fourth verse reads thus:

> The Lord hath sworn and will not repent,
> Thou art a priest forever
> After the order of Melchizedek.

This is a fascinating text for any imaginative interpreter, since the second line is somewhat vague and the third is an enigma. No one knows what the Psalmist meant by "the order of Melchizedek." Indeed, it is not improbable that these words are a gloss and no part of the original text. But the writer of Hebrews found them in the Psalm as we do, and since we are considering his use of the Old Testament as extant in his day we will not inquire into the genuineness of the Hebrew text of this verse. The word "Melchizedek" in this Psalm took the writer back to Gen. xiv., the only other

place in the Old Testament where it is found. This famous passage runs as follows: "And Melchizedek, King of Salem, brought forth bread and wine; and he was priest of God Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth; and blessed be God Most High, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him a tenth of all." From this simple bit of narrative the author of Hebrews derived two important thoughts, viz. that Melchizedek was superior to Abraham and therefore to the Levitical priests who were Abraham's descendants, and, second, that Melchizedek had an everlasting priesthood.

The foundation of both these inferences is decidely precarious. Melchizedek was indeed a priest and Abraham was not, but Abraham was the father of the chosen people while Melchizedek was an alien. The two men simply exchanged gifts. Melchizedek gave Abraham bread and wine and a blessing, and Abraham gave him a tenth of the spoil he had taken. The narrative does not indicate any special motive which led to the act of either man; neither does it suggest that Melchizedek was superior to Abraham.

As to the second important thought which the author of Hebrews found in this passage of Genesis, we must say that its basis is not simply precarious but altogether imaginary. For that thought—the everlasting priesthood of Melchizedek—is a simple inference from the silence of the narrative, as was the statement, already considered, that Melchizedek had no father or mother. The narrative does not

record the death of Melchizedek, or his birth; therefore, according to the author's theory, he is to be credited with everlasting life and an everlasting priesthood. With the same force we could reason about the King of Sodom, who is mentioned with Melchizedek, that, since he too was without father or mother, beginning of days, or end of life, he has an everlasting kingship. Of course, it is obvious that this manner of dealing with the Scriptures or with any writing is utterly unreasonable.

We see, then, that the thought of Ps. cx.4 receives no light from Gen. xiv.18-20. That thought, exclusive of the third line of the verse, is the abiding priesthood of him who in the first verse is called "my lord"; but the Psalm throws no light on the author's meaning of "priesthood." It is in the midst of a passage of slaughter and judgment, where nothing of a priestly character or function appears. If the author had the story of Melchizedek in mind when he wrote the Psalm, it would be natural to suppose that his thought of priesthood was drawn from that source; but we cannot safely assume that the story of Melchizedek was in the mind of the Psalmist, since the reference to him may have been a gloss. But, in any case, the word "priesthood" as applied here to the Messiah remains undefined. We can go no further than the general thought of the term in its Old Testament usage—the thought of mediation between a worshipper and his God.

It might be said, in passing, that neither of the fundamental Old Testament passages speaks of a *high*priest. This is found only in the usage of

the author of Hebrews. Melchizedek is called a "priest" and the one addressed in the Psalm is appointed a priest, not a *high*priest. The thought that the Messiah is a highpriest, which is required by the author's argument, may have been borrowed from Philo, who thus designates the Logos.

We have not yet touched the most fruitful source of the author's conception of the highpriesthood of Jesus. As Gen. xiv. and Ps. cx. are the foundation of the claim of his priesthood, so Ex. xxv.40 is the ground on which the writer confessedly rears his entire superstructure (viii.4, 5). This is the command that Moses received to make all things according to "the pattern" which was showed him in the Mount. The reference was to the tabernacle and its furniture. These were to be made according to the divine counsel. But this word "pattern" involved for the author of Hebrews great and wonderful truths, which enabled him to elaborate the conception of the highpriesthood of Jesus. Consider what he found therein. That mystic "pattern" which Moses saw, apparently with eyes of flesh, was the true or real tabernacle which the Lord pitched (viii.2). It was "the greater and more perfect tabernacle," "not made with hands and not of this creation" (ix.11). It has its Holy of Holies (ix. 12), before which is the veil (ix.3, x.20), within which is the sprinkling of the blood (xii.24), and which is once said to be heaven itself (ix.24). What Moses made was but "a copy and shadow of heavenly things" (viii.4), a "sanctuary of this world" (ix.1), or of this "creation" (ix.11). What Moses consecrated with

blood were "copies of things in the heavens" (ix.23), the "antitypes" of the realities (ix.24). His law had only a "shadow" of good things to come, not the very "image" of the things (x.1). And as the tabernacle of Moses is but a "copy" of the greater and more perfect tabernacle, so the service of Moses' tabernacle is a shadow of that which is accomplished in the greater tabernacle (ix.8, 9). The highpriest of the Mosaic tabernacle is the prototype of the heavenly highpriest; his offering of blood the prototype of the blood of Jesus through which he entered once for all into the holy place (ix.12).

A single material detail of the earthly tabernacle, viz. the veil before the Holy of Holies, reappears in the author's conception of the heavenly tabernacle and indeed in two distinct forms. It is first thought of as that which hides the Holy of Holies (vi.19), but again it becomes a "copy and shadow" of the "flesh" of Jesus (x.20). But while the author allegorizes but one material detail of the tabernacle, it appears that he could have dealt with the other details in a similar manner (ix.5). He suggests that he might have done so had not his readers been dull of hearing (v.11), or had he not sometimes felt that his "word" of exhortation might become prolix (xiii.22).

Such in outline is the wondrous superstructure which is grounded on the words of Ex. xxv.40. Since we are not concerned primarily with the teaching of Hebrews, but only with its interpretation of the Old Testament, we shall at once consider the relation of this superstructure to its basis.

In reality, no argument is required to show that the supposed basis is not to be found in the original text. The tabernacle and its furniture were to be made according to the "pattern" shown to Moses in the Mount; but to see in that pattern anything more than the thought of divine direction is to leave solid ground and give free rein to imagination. That there must be in the heavenly world an eternal reality of which the Mosaic tabernacle was a "copy and shadow" is a philosophical conception, akin to the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, which has no valid ground in the words to Moses. The "fabric of this vision" is "baseless" unless some other basis be discovered than that which the author gives. To go in search of a basis, however, would be quite apart from the purpose of this study.

As a piece of interpretation this handling of the three passages on which the unknown author erects his imposing structure—Ps. cx.4; Gen. xiv.18-20, and Ex. xxv.40, but especially the last of the three —has, we think, no worthy parallel in the entire range of Christian literature. In some respects the Second Discourse of Athanasius against the Arians, his most elaborate Scripture argument on the deity of Christ, is in its use of the Bible not unlike this argument in Hebrews, for Athanasius finds his sure foundation in a part of the eighth chapter of Proverbs, the connection of which with the person of Christ is no less illusory than is the connection of Ex. xxv.40 with the structure it is made to support. In both cases the superstructure is elaborate and impressive; in both the method of interpreting the Old Testament has nothing in common with

the method of Jesus. But apart from this great production of Athanasius it would be difficult to find anything comparable to the use of Ex. xxv. 40 by the author of Hebrews.

It cannot be thought strange, therefore, if the results obtained by the author of Hebrews are widely unlike the teaching of Jesus. We shall not state these differences in detail, nor dwell upon their significance, but will briefly refer to that one which is the most comprehensive and fundamental.

Jesus regarded himself as a prophet and found his mission in making known the fatherly character of God; the author of Hebrews makes him a priest and his great work is to secure purification for sins by shedding his own blood. The God of Jesus, the heavenly Father, who welcomes the returning sinner with pardon and tender love, gives place in Hebrews to the stern Judge in whose sight every transgression and disobedience receives a just recompense of reward (xii.23, ii.2), who was displeased with the children of Israel all the forty years of their wandering (iii.17), who swore in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest (iii.11); a Being of such character that it is a fearful thing to fall into his hand (x.31), and who is to be served with reverence and awe because he is a "consuming fire" (xii.29). According to Hebrews Jesus is more divine than the divine Father himself. This single contrast shows how far the author's conception of Jesus as a "highpriest" led him away from that which is central in the Master's own teaching.

What has been said of the relation of one feature of the interpretation of the Old Testament by the

author of Hebrews to the method of Jesus may be said of the other less striking features of that interpretation. Its literalism, its dogmatism, and its reading the New Testament back into the Old are entirely without parallel in Jesus' use of the Scriptures. The supreme value of Jesus' method could hardly be shown more forcibly than by comparing the results which the author of Hebrews reached with the teaching of Jesus.

The transcendent influence of the early interpreters of Jesus is nowhere seen more impressively than in the unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Out of three brief passages of the Old Testament, two of which are wholly unrelated to Christianity and the third related to it merely in a formal manner, there was developed, by the magic of a devout imagination and a mystical method of interpretation, a doctrine of the person and the work of Jesus that obscures not only his clear thought of his own significance, but also his conception of God.

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